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INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Pact Military Council To Meet 'Early October'

LD2609173688 Budapest MTI in English
1715 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—The Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces is to hold its 38th session in Budapest in early October.

CEMA Scientific Advisory Body Meets 27 Sep

LD2709103688 Budapest MTI in English
1016 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The conference of one of the scientific advisory bodies of the CMEA Executive Committee opened on Tuesday in Tatabanya. Participants from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, the GDR and the Soviet Union are to review the infrastructure conditions of production in the individual countries, and how transport, delivery and telecommunication promotes profitable and economic production. The conference is to detail proposals for the development of production infrastructure, and to improve the related integration.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Romanian-Soviet Colloquium on Disarmament Held

AU2309165988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1637 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/9/1988—A Romanian-Soviet colloquium on various aspects of the disarmament issue took place in Bucharest, sponsored by the Romanian Association for International Law and International Relations. It covered the reduction of the strategic weapons and the non-militarization of outer space, the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons, the military balance and the question of military doctrines, the banning of nuclear weapon tests and the establishment of denuclearized zones, the freezing and reduction of military expenditures.

The participants included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, researchers, university teaching staff, journalists.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hungarian IPU Delegate Condemns Romania

AU2309164688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] The 80th IPU Conference held in Sofia continued on 20 September with the discussion of human rights.

Sandor Barcs, chairman of the Hungarian parliamentary group, spoke, among other things, about the activity of progressive forces in Hungary between the two world wars and following World War II, including their stand against anti-Jewish harrassment as well as their stand against the deportation of honest German minorities. He also spoke about the exemplary policy conducted toward the Swedish minority living in Finland. The FRG delegate spoke about the issue of village destruction in Romania while the Romanian delegate tried to disturb him with loud interruptions.

Socialist Delegations to UN Meet in New York

LD2609193688 Warsaw PAP in English
1823 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] New York, Sept. 26—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski took part here today in the meeting of chairmen of delegations from socialist countries to the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

During the meeting, chairman of the Soviet delegation Eduard Shevardnadze presented Soviet actions designed to consolidate the concept of new thinking in international policy and briefed the meeting on the talks he conducted in Washington.

The meeting took a positive stand on the results of the talks and stressed the significance of Soviet-U.S. dialogue and disarmament agreements for a favourable development of the international situation.

It also stressed the importance of broad democratic dialogue—developing within the U.N.—for consolidation of a common system of security and the role of the U.N. as a real centre of shaping international relations. The meeting also emphasized the significance of a close observance by all sides of the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan.

The participants also spoke of the importance of an equitable political settlement of problems in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, in the south of Africa and in Central America, as well as of the development of dialogue between North and South Korea, and the quickest possible implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution on the Iranian-Iraqi conflict.

Atanasov Receives Albanian Planning Chief

AU2709091488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] On 27 September Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Niko Gjyzari, chairman of Albania's State Planning Commission, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government and in connection with the Plovdiv Autumn Technological Fair. The meeting was attended by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, and Bashkim Rama, Albanian ambassador to Bulgaria.

FRG's Jenninger Meets With Officials

Talks With Todorov, Mladenov

AU2309140588 Sofia BTA in English 1305 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—The good cooperation between the parliaments of Bulgaria and the F.R.G. contributed to the versatile development of the two countries' relations. This was concluded at the talks, held in this country, today between Mr. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly and Mr. Philipp Jenninger, president of the Bundestag.

Analyzing the forms of the currently existing relations, the leaders of the two parliaments agreed on the successful fulfillment of the plans of cooperation and the possibilities for its future promotion. The committees on economic development and the groups for friendship at the parliaments of Bulgaria and the F.R.G. realize useful exchange of experience and information. Cooperation has started, related to the problems of ecology, a sphere in which Mr. Stanko Todorov and Mr. Philipp Jenninger see ample opportunities for cooperation. They discussed the possibilities for contacts between the legislative committees.

"When the question goes of parliamentarian cooperation of countries with different social order, I always give as example the cooperation between our parliaments", Mr. Jenninger said.

In conclusion, the two sides expressed their conviction that this third meeting between the leaders of the two parliaments will contribute to the further expansion of cooperation.

Today Mr. Philipp Jenninger also met Mr. Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria.

They expressed satisfaction with the current cooperation between Bulgaria and the F.R.G. and confirmed their countries' wish to expand contacts in the different spheres of policy, economy and culture.

Mr. Petur Mladenov and Mr. Philipp Jenninger noted that, some important steps have been made towards strengthening of confidence between the East and the West. The contribution of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. which have signed the I.N.F. Treaty for scrapping of shorter and medium range missiles is highly substantial. Among the global issues, today, stays the need of early and significant cuts in conventional weapons. They stressed that the mutual wish to look for the most direct ways of disarmament, creates a new climate of hope.

As European countries, Bulgaria and the F.R.G. are interested in the continuation of the positive processes on the continent and in their irreversibility. One of the main conditions, therefore, is to strengthen the confidence between the politicians and open up new prospects for uniting and bringing closer the interests.

Received by Zhivkov

AU2309183388 Sofia BTA in English 1305 GMT 23 Sep 88

(Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria received today Mr. Philipp Jenninger, president of the Bundestag of the F.R.G.

They noted that relations between the two countries are on the upsurge and serve as example of cooperation between countries of different social order.

It was noted that in spite of some differences and difficulties, the two countries should build the new, peaceful world, and develop fruitful cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres of life.

Zhivkov, British Publisher Maxwell Confer

AU2309182688 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, today received Mr. Robert Maxwell, president of the Anglo-American corporation Pergamon Press.

They discussed the new prospects of promoting the business relations between the corporation and the respective Bulgarian organizations, opened by the positive changes in the international situation and the restructuring of the economic policy and the economic enterprises in Bulgaria.

In this connection, paying due attention to the training of qualified economic managerial cadres, the idea of cooperation in this field was considered, too. It was established that collaboration in informatics [word as received] is also possible.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov said that the Bulgarian side is prepared to give support to the projects of investment, industrial and business cooperation between Bulgarian organizations and affiliates of the corporation, which are being discussed now.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, was also present at this meeting.

Dyulgerov Beijing Activities Reported
AU1609184188 Sofia BTA in English
1711 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing, September 16 (BTA)—A Bulgarian trade-union delegation, led by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union [BTU] was on an official visit in China from September 8 to 16 at the invitation of Mr Ni Zhifu chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions [ACFTU].

The Bulgarian guests were received by the member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party Qiao Shi. There were official talks with Mr Ni Zhifu, with party and trade union figures. The delegation was informed in detail on the most pressing issues of restructuring in that country and mainly on the reform of prices and salaries, presently under discussion and the thereof coming tasks which the Chinese trade unions must solve. A number of initiatives were agreed upon which are to expand and develop further relations between the BTU and ACFTU.

Zhivkov, Phomvihan Toast Bulgarian-Lao Relations
AU2609125288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO
DELO in Bulgarian 23 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at official dinner for Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in Sofia on 22 September]

[Text] I am glad to welcome the representatives of the Lao people, led by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, as dear guests of our country.

The Bulgarian Communists and our country's working people have followed your people's prolonged struggle for national liberation and social justice with a feeling of deep and sincere sympathy, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

The past years have been very difficult but fruitful ones for you. The results achieved by the friendly Lao people in restoring the economy, especially in agriculture and developing education and culture, are evident.

We are convinced that under the leadership of their political vanguard the Lao people will successfully implement the decisions of the Fourth LPRP Congress and the Second 5-Year Socioeconomic Development Plan.

We fully support the policy of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, conducted together with the nations of Vietnam and Cambodia, and aimed at turning Southeast Asia, one of the world's hotbeds of tension, into a region of peace and good-neighborly relations. We also highly value your active participation in the Nonaligned Movement.

In accordance with the BCP July Concept we are implementing a comprehensive restructuring of our society, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

Now we are working to consistently put into effect the principles of restructuring, in connection with socialist property, socialist self-management and the strategic role of the state, and the party as the people's political vanguard. The coincidence in principle of the goals and directions of restructuring in Bulgaria and the USSR is producing a powerful impetus.

New realities are emerging in international life. The new political thinking has strengthened awareness among the world's different countries and nations of their increasing interdependence. New historical content of the development of human civilization is being formed on the basis of modern production forces, and conditions are being created for decisively restructuring international relations in the name of peace and creativity.

We greeted with satisfaction the results of the recent USSR-U.S. summit meetings. We greet the intensification of contacts between states of the East and West, and the settlement of regional conflicts through political dialogue.

Further on, Comrade Todor Zhivkov assured the Lao guest that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will further conduct a policy of peace, confidence, and understanding with neighboring countries in the Balkans, and with all countries in Europe and the world.

Bulgaria and Laos are linked by sincere and fraternal friendship. This was firmly incorporated in the 1979 Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation. We cherish the memory of Comrade Phomvihan's visit to our country, and the warm hospitality shown to us on Lao soil.

Our present meeting is a continuation of our friendly talks, and we are sure that in the present conditions it will facilitate the further development of fraternal relations between our parties, countries, and nations.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov proposed a toast to fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Bulgarian and Lao nations, between the BCP and the LPRP, and to new successes of the Lao people.

Atanasov, Iraqi Minister Discuss Cooperation
AU2609195088 Sofia BTA in English
1919 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr. Karim Hasan Rida, minister of agriculture and irrigation of Iraq and co-chairman of the Joint Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation between Bulgaria and Iraq, who is heading the official Iraqi delegation at the Plovdiv Fair.

The guest conveyed a message from Iraq's First Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan.

The two sides expressed mutual desire for continuation of the traditional friendly cooperation in the economic sphere. They discussed concrete new spheres for cooperation.

The opportunities for broadening of the participation of Bulgarian engineering organizations in the programme for post-war restoration of Iraq's economy were discussed.

The meeting was attended by Minister Khristo Khristov, chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

Todorov Receives Jordanian Parliamentary Group
AU2609154788 Sofia BTA in English
1321 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—Today a Jordanian parliamentary delegation led by Mr. Ahmad Karim al-Lawzi, chairman of the Senate, had talks with Mr. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

The Jordanian members of the Senate, who took part in the Conference of the Interparliamentary Union held here from September 19 to September 24, expressed their satisfaction with the successful work of the forum and with the democratic spirit of the discussions. In support of this assessment, Mr. Ahmad Karim al-Lawzi mentioned the inclusion of the question of the Palestinians' uprisal in the territories occupied by Israel as an additional item on the agenda of the conference. The concern over the fate of the Palestinian people and the expansion policy Israel still follows in the region voiced at the conference, shows that the international public is much interested in the solution of this Middle East problem, which poses a serious threat to peace both in this region and in the world, the chairman of the Senate of Jordan said.

Mr. Stanko Todorov underlined, that Bulgaria supports the Arab peoples' struggle for their just cause. "We", he said, "appreciate highly King Husayn's efforts to call an international conference on this matter."

A shared opinion was expressed, that the relations between Bulgaria and Jordan develop well. The cooperation between the two countries is placed on a strong footing and there are possibilities for expanding it by including agriculture, the food industry, prospecting and tourism.

Stanishev Receives Palestinian Delegation
AU2609200888 Sofia BTA in English
1912 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr. Samir Ghawshah, secretary general of the Palestinian Populist Struggle Front.

The guest was acquainted with Bulgaria's position of the all-round, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem. Mr. Stanishev said that the ten-month-lasting uprising at the West Bank and in the Gaza is a clear evidence of the decisiveness of the Palestinian people to defend their national rights and primarily their right to an independent state. They also stressed the need of a further consolidation of the unity of the Palestinian resistance movement on a real political platform and of increasing the efforts to convene an international conference with the participation of standing members of the Security Council and of all interested countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. Samir Ghawshah highly esteemed the support and solidarity of the BCP and the Bulgarian people with the just cause of the Arab people of Palestina.

Balev Holds Discussion With Senegalese Delegation
AU2509193088 Sofia BTA in English
1815 GMT 25 Sep 88

["Bulgaria, Senegal: Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—Mr. Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the Permanent Commission on Foreign Affairs with Bulgaria's National Assembly, received today a delegation of the Republic of Senegal headed by Mr. El Ahdji Moustafa Niang [spelling of name as received], M.P., member of the CC of the Parti Socialiste Senegalais (PSS) and chairman of the Union for Islamic Progress of Senegal.

They discussed questions related to the broadening of the relations between the parliaments of the two countries. The two sides expressed desire for deepening of the cooperation between Bulgaria and Senegal.

GDR Defense Minister Arrives, Meets Vaclavik

LD2609193988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, 26 Sep 88 ADN—A GDR military delegation led by Army General Heinz Kessler, minister for national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, arrived in Prague today. The delegation was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense and member of the CPCZ Central Committee.

This morning the delegation laid wreaths at the national memorial on Zizkov Hill and at the cemetery in Olsany for Soviet soldiers killed in the liberation of Prague.

This afternoon, the delegations, led by the defense ministers, met for talks. The ministers briefed one another on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress and on the tasks for guaranteeing the defense readiness of their countries. They welcomed the change for the better in international relations and also stressed the need for the reliable defense of socialism and peace. Both ministers praised the high level of friendship and cooperation between the GDR's National People's Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army, which has existed for over 30 years in all spheres of military life. The program for cooperation between the GDR and the CSSR up to the year 2000 constitutes a solid base for the further expansion of collaboration between the two Defense Ministries. The ministers also reaffirmed the determination to meet their obligations consistently in the future in the alliance of the Warsaw Pact states.

This evening the CSSR minister of national defense gave a dinner in honor of the delegation.

Further on Visit of CPSU's Biryukova

Meets With Ignac Janak

LD2109112788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received in Bratislava today Aleksandra Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia. He informed her about the economic activity in production and in consumer and housing cooperatives, and about their contribution to providing services to the population and to supplying the market with consumer goods. Comrade Ignac Janak spoke in detail about implementing the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the agricultural cooperative movement.

Holds Talks With Beno, Officials

AU2209152888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Comradely Talks"]

[Text] Prague—Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received Aleksandra Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary who is currently in Czechoslovakia on a working visit, on Monday [19 September]. In a friendly talk they briefed each other on the course of restructuring in our countries and on the experience acquired in party work in the spheres of social policy, domestic trade, light industry, and the improvement of the party's internal life. The talk was attended by Vladimir Patek and Karel Erbes, CPCZ Central Committee department heads, and by Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Later Comrade Biryukova talked to the representatives of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and inspected with interest the Kotva department store and the Druzhba cooperative store, and also other trade organizations in Prague.

Toward the end of the day the CPSU Central Committee secretary and her entourage were received by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and leading secretary of the party's Prague City Committee. The frank comradely talk with the leading officials of the Prague party organization was oriented toward solving practical programmed tasks in the activities of party and state agencies in the capital of Prague.

RSFSR's Orlov, Delegation Meet With Kempny

LD2109221788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, met today in Prague with deputies of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. He told them about the current tasks of economic reform in the CSSR, and about our political system. He pointed out the current activation of the bodies and organizations of the National Front, and explained in detail the status and powers of the Czech National Council.

Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, stated that radical economic reform in the USSR is already producing its first results. Industrial and agricultural production is growing, but problems are persisting in tackling the food program, in the production of consumer goods, and in housing construction. Together with the reform of the political system, this also places considerable demands on the work of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, stated Vladimir Orlov, chairman of its Presidium.

DPRK Chief of Staff Begins Visit

LD1709014188 Prague CTK in English 1937 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CTK)—Army General Choe Kwang, alternate member of the Korean Workers' Party Politburo and chief of staff of the People's Armed Forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, arrived here today at the invitation of Czechoslovak National Defence Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik.

He was met at Ruzyne Airport by chief of staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, First Deputy Defence Minister Colonel-General Moroslav Vacek.

Received by Jakes

AU2209160688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Received by Comrade M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Army General Choe Kwang, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and chief of General Staff of the DPRK People's Armed Forces, in Prague on Monday [19 September].

In a cordial comradely talk they assessed the development of relations between the two fraternal parties and countries, and devoted particular attention to cooperation in the efforts to reduce international tension. Comrade Milos Jakes expressed full support for the DPRK proposals aimed at attaining a just, peaceful, and democratic unification of the country and a detente in the Asian and Pacific region. Comrade Choe Kwang expressed great appreciation for the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

The reception was attended by Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense.

Departs 21 Sep

LD2109204988 Prague CTK in English 1555 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, Sept 21 (CTK)—Army General Choe Kwang, Politburo alternate member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee and chief of staff of the People's Armed Forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, ended today a six-day visit to Czechoslovakia.

At the close of his stay he held talks with chief of staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, First Deputy Defence Minister Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek. The conviction was expressed that the visit helped to promote relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples and armies of the two countries.

Chnoupek Views Developing Ties With France

PM2209141288 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 19 Sep 88 p 15

[Interview with Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek by Jean-Paul Pierot in Prague on 17 September]

[Text] At the end of 3 days of Franco-Czechoslovak talks, we interviewed Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek. We are publishing the main excerpts from his replies:

[Pierot] What prospects do you think there are for developing Franco-Czechoslovak relations?

[Chnoupek] We note with satisfaction that relations between the CSSR and France are being successfully developed and extended.

I am convinced there is potential for stepping up political relations. We hope to activate cooperation between our parliaments. We intend to continue to encourage contacts between ministers from specialized sectors. But we are also interested in developing nongovernmental cooperation, including the expansion of tourist exchanges.

We have recently achieved some positive results in economic cooperation. In general terms, the existing level of these relations is not consistent with the two countries' potential. Indeed, France ranks only sixth in Czechoslovak foreign trade with the developed capitalist countries. That is why we think it is necessary to achieve more dynamic growth in the volume of trade between Czechoslovakia and France.

[Pierot] Czechoslovakia is playing an active part in disarmament efforts. What prospects do you think there are for progress in these negotiations?

[Chnoupek] Czechoslovak foreign policy thinks it is necessary to help to radically reduce the Warsaw Pact and NATO military potentials. The aim is to ensure that, after the elimination of imbalances and a reduction in military means, each side possesses only the forces which are vital to its defense, but not enough to launch a surprise attack. This must all be achieved with effective monitoring on a national and international basis.

This is also the aim of the initiative taken by CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes. It relates to the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborliness on the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries meet. It is not limited to the military sphere. It is aimed at achieving positive developments in the political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres.

[Pierot] How does Czechoslovakia view the development of military cooperation between France and the FRG?

[Chnoupek] We are examining the military aspects of the growing cooperation between France and the FRG, and also about the building of the so-called West European defense pillar. Now, 50 years after the signing of the Munich agreements, which gave Hitler the go-ahead, we in Czechoslovakia have not forgotten that the militarization of Nazi Germany enabled it to expand and engage in lethal aggression.

Of course, the present international situation is different, and positive trends are emerging in Europe. Cooperation is continuing and security is being strengthened. We are making progress in the disarmament sphere.

We do not think that the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles can weaken or threaten Western Europe's security. Quite the reverse, the positive results of Soviet-U.S. dialogue are strengthening it.

We do not think that the way forward lies with arms, but rather with disarmament, the development of peaceful cooperation, the strengthening of political dialogue among the European countries, and the building of a common European home.

Reader Disapproves of Talks With Vatican

AU2109150488 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 September on page 3, in the "From Letters to the Editor" column, carries a 1,200-word letter by Josef Mrazek from Brno, entitled "Old Wounds Hurt and Warn." In his letter, Mrazek first recalls the "long history of the political abuse of religion against our national and social existence." He refers to what he sees as the negative role of "political and economic clericalism" in Czechoslovak history, saying that its representatives "were among those who were exploiting, betraying, and denationalizing us in a planned fashion" and were among those who "opposed the existence of an independent Czechoslovakia 7 decades ago."

Turning to the present, Mrazek then says: "How false and defiant ring the groans of clericalist politickers today over the fact that we bar them from creating a political force that would once again stand in opposition to our homeland and its people. Are we perhaps supposed to believe in their 'innocence' when for an entire millenium the property, power, and intrigues of the Catholic Church were the cause of our exploitation, oppression, and methodologically carried out denationalization?

"Are these questions not exaggerated?

"I am convinced that they are not. Let those who may have any doubts listen to the political commentaries beamed by such a 'virtuous' source as Radio Vatican. The political platform of its attacks on Czechoslovakia today goes far beyond the limits of what is produced by expelled Sudeten Germans, Radio Free Europe, or Voice of America. It is directly and openly aimed at subverting the CSSR; the attacks on its territorial integrity are direct and unconcealed. The Vatican behaves as though the liquidation of our homeland were an indispensable condition for the Christian character of Europe. It is perhaps for this reason that it ridicules the Slovak national uprising, glorifies Tiso and Hlinka [leaders of the Slovak state during World War II], and agitates against the CSSR." To illustrate his point, Mrazek describes an "outrageously offensive" a Radio Vatican program from 1 September, which spoke about the "destructive barbarousness" of the Slovak national uprising.

"I do not know why the Vatican pursues this vulgar political line," Mrazek continues, "but it is a fact that we are not the popes' beloved people and that the Vatican has always regarded the people of our country as nothing but heretics and God's visitation."

Mrazek goes on to question the value of official talks with the Vatican. He says: "I understand that it is necessary and desirable today to patiently conduct talks even with those states that have never behaved in a friendly way toward us. I am asking myself, however, what our government expects of the talks with the Vatican, whose starting position today is overt attacks on another state. Historical experience teaches us that, from complicated diplomatic games, the papal Curia has always and almost exclusively tried to carry away victory for its own interests, at the expense of the other side: At least [it tried to gain] the proverbial pound of flesh from the body of our people.

"Why should we not ponder these issues anew, publicly and broadly? Why should we allow the view to be gradually foisted upon us that, supposedly, through our national or class assessment, we 'embarrassingly lag behind' the all-European process? Why should we cheaply and stupidly let ourselves be deprived of a part of our national character, which was formed by our blood and tears and that of our ancestors, when, moreover, our opponents have not changed, to put it mildly?

"Both history and the present must be examined, interpreted, and studied according to how they really occurred, and not according to the stage management of the ideologues of political clericalism. This is a principle on which all upstanding patriots will agree.

"Truth—both historical and in the present—also constitutes the firm foundation for dialogue between Marxists and believers. However, I cannot resist the remark that this dialogue must take place in our society and not in international negotiations with the Vatican." "I am therefore convinced," Mrazek says in conclusion, "that we shall resolve all questions ourselves and that we shall do so faster if the Vatican with its anti-Czechoslovak aims and notorious aggressiveness does not interfere in this process."

New Slovak Literary Weekly To Be Published

AU2109161788 [Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 16 September and Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 19 September both carry interviews with Dr Vincent Sabik, designated chief editor of a new literary periodical—the Slovak weekly LITERARNY TYZDENNIK. The date and place of the interviews are not given.

The 600-word interview carried by SMENA on page 1 and entitled "Literary Weekly on the Horizon" was given by Sabik to SMENA editor Marta Souckova for the "Place for Two" column. In the interview, Sabik says that the 16-page periodical will be published every Friday, will cost Kcs3, and that the first copies will be published on 21 September (the day of the press). Its purpose, Sabik says, is to "acquaint readers with the latest works" of Czechoslovak and foreign writers, to "critically react to their new works, analyze the literary situation and its contexts, follow the development of the literary process, carry information on literary life, and orient the readers about literary movements." According to Sabik, the weekly is to "cultivate and develop various forms of communication capable of providing close contacts between literature and life; between authors, works, and readers; between literature and other arts; between trends in culture and in thinking—i.e., all forms of live creativity, thinking, discussion, polemics, and exchanges of views." The periodical will also be addressed to nonintellectual readers, Sabik says, and will have its main editorial office in Bratislava, 18 Zizkova Street. The telephone number he gives is 31 53 03.

The 800-word interview carried by VECERNIK on page 5 and entitled "Welcome to the Family of Periodicals" was given to Dr Miroslav Janek. In addition to the facts stated in the interview for SMENA, Sabik is quoted as saying that the periodical will be published by the "Slovak Writer" Publishing House as the organ of the Union of Slovak Writers, and that the first runs will be 15,000 copies each. The editorial office, Sabik says, will have a literary and a journalistic section, and a subsection for the arts. In this interview Sabik says that the periodical will be addressing "the broad cultural strata of the nation"; that a key role will be played in it by literary criticism, as "an analyzing, reflecting, judging, argumentative, evaluating, informative, and educational factor"; and that it will react to "specific social problems" in an effort to "contribute to the renewal and development of the all-social dialogue and to an exchange of views on the basic issues of our individual and social existence in the past, at present, and in the future—issues concerning man, the nation, and the human community."

Allies Protest Militia Parade in East Berlin

LD2409125488 Hamburg DPA in German 1157 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker reviewed a parade of "workers' militias groups" in East Berlin today on the 35th anniversary of the militia groups. The Allied [Forces'] city commandants of Berlin protested the parade by armed units. [passage omitted]

After the "militant roll call", 10,000 members of militia groups from throughout the GDR marched past Honecker in Karl-Marx-Allee. The announcement by the French Military Administration points out that paramilitary units bearing weapons had staged a parade in the Soviet sector of Berlin. "The commandants of the Western sector strongly protest this clear violation of Berlin's demilitarized status," the announcement states. They point out on this occasion that "the repetition of illegal actions in no way gives them a legitimate character." [passage omitted]

Krenz Decorates Militia Fighters, Units

LD2309160788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 23 Sep ADN—Meritorious fighters and exemplary militia group units were conferred high state awards in Berlin on Friday afternoon on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the workers' militia groups. They were awarded by the chairman of the GDR State Council at the suggestion of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, the Presidium of the Council of MInisters and the National Defense Council of the GDR. The members and units of the militia groups received the Karl Marx Order, the Patriotic Order of Merit, the Banner of Labor order and the Scharnhorst Order in recognition of their achievements in strengthening and protecting the GDR.

They were conferred by Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the State Council, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on behalf of Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED CEntral Committee and chairman of the GDR's State Council and of the GDR National Defense Council.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets FRG's Genscher

LD2109210688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn, 21 Sep (ADN)—GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch, who is in Bonn for consulations with the FRG Government's disarmament representative, Dr Josef Holik, was received on Wednesday [21 September] by Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Secretary of State Dr Juergen Sudhoff.

The two sides agreed that the visit to the FRG 1 year ago by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, had given important impetus to a deepening of political dialogue on the fundamental questions of our time between the two German states. The dialogue centered on how the jointly recognized shared responsibility for arms limitation, disarmament, and confidence-building could be translated into practice. The GDR politican referred in this connection to the proposals by Erich Honecker to Federal Chancellor Kohl for concrete steps by the two German states.

Satisfaction was expressed in the talks concerning the fact that the INF Treaty, in whose materialization both states had contributed toward, is being implemented with their participation and in line with the agreements. The next steps in the disarmament process must be the halving of the strategic offensive weapons in following the ABM Treaty, a halt to nuclear weapons tests, a ban on chemical weapons, and a reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

Ernst Krabatsch outlined the initiatives submitted by the Warsaw Pact states and opposed NATO's arms plans, which were aimed at compensating for the disarmament steps that had been achieved. He stressed the need to extend the disarmament process to tactical nuclear weapons. The two German states must have a special interest in this because they were most directly affected by the danger of these weapons. The way would be smoothed for a reduction of military confrontation if—as proposed by the GDR—understanding could be reached on central Europe regarding the establishment of a nuclear weapons-free corridor, a chemical weapons-free zone, and a zone of trust and security.

An exchange of views between the GDR and FRG defense ministers on questions of military doctrines, the possibilities for reducing conventional military capacities, and such subjects as freedom from nuclear weapons and nonaggression capability could serve toward a deeper understanding for mutual concerns and the promotion of trust.

Apart from views that converged, the talks demonstrated that the FRG adheres to nuclear deterrence on the basis of the NATO decisions and that it rejects regional steps in central Europe.

The talks were attended by Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR's Permanent Mission in the FRG.

Stoph, PPR's Gwiazda Discuss Cooperation

LD2309090288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Sep (ADN)—Relations between the GDR and the PPR are developing successfully on the basis of the agreements between Erich Honecker and

Wojciech Jaruzelski. Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Wladyslaw Gwiazda, PPR minister for foreign economic cooperation, expressed their satisfaction over this in Berlin today during a friendly talk. They stressed in particular the high state of economic cooperation.

The Polish politician is staying in Berlin for the 22d meeting of the GDR-Poland Economic Commission.

The two men established that it is necessary above all to grasp new opportunities to deepen the division of labor and cooperation through the planned realization of the long-term program for the development of bilaterial cooperation in science, technology, and production for the period up to the year 2000, and to continue to raise the effectiveness of cooperation. The intensification of the national economies of both countries through the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is of great importance for the consolidation of the positions of socialism and the effectiveness of the peace policy.

In this connection, Willi Stoph and Wladyslaw Gwiazda praised the 44th CEMA meeting resolution and stressed that the GDR and Poland will make their active contribution to its realization.

The two partners in the talks agreed in expressing the hope that nuclear and conventional disarmament will be continued through consistent steps. The GDR and Poland, together with the allied states, will continue to support this process through their own initiatives.

Stoph Receives Nicaraguan Planning Minister

LD2309114188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Sep (ADN) Dr Alejandro Cuenca, Nicaraguan minister for planning and budget, expressed the great gratitude of the Nicaraguan people for the solidarity shown by the GDR for many years with the struggle of his country for freedom and independence. He was received today in Berlin for a friendly exchange of opinion by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and conveyed a message from President Daniel Ortega to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction that an improvement is beginning to be registerd in international relations. The entry into nuclear disarmament achieved with the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a first effective step in this, which strengthens the hope of the peoples for a world without nuclear weapons. Now it is a matter of agreeing without delay on further specific measures on the global reduction and elimination of other weapon categories in the nuclear, conventional and chemical-biological spheres.

The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers stated that there are favorable international conditions at present for finding lasting and just settlements for regional conflicts if all those involved show political realism. The GDR has repeatedly expressed in the past years its concern at the situation in Central America and its effects on the international situation. For this reason it supports all initiatives which lead to a just political settlement of the existing contentious issues in the peoples' interest.

Willi Stoph affirmed that the GDR will continue to stand in firm friendship and solidarity at the side of the Nicaraguan people in their just struggle for independence, sovereignty, and social progress.

Cuban Military Delegation Received by Kessler

AU2209161588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—At the order of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister for national defense, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff of the National People's Army, received a delegation of the Cuban Antiaircraft Defense and Revolutionary Air Force on Tuesday [20 September]. This delegation is headed by Brigade General Ruben Martinez Puente, vice minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba and chief of the Antiaircraft Defense and Revolutionary Air Force. During the friendly meeting in the Defense Ministry, the interlocutors assessed the visit as an expression of the steadily developing relations between the GDR and Cuba and between their armies. The meeting was attended by Col Gen Wolfgang Reinhold, deputy defense minister and chief of the Air Force and Air Defense Command.

Commentary on Gorbachev Asia-Pacific Proposals

AU2309104888 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 23 September on page 2, under the headline "Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific Region," carries a 600-word commentary by "NG" on the latest Soviet proposals "for the consolidation of peace in the Asia-Pacific region." The commentary stresses the GDR's support for this initiative and notes that reactions from other countries have been varied: "Careful study, agreement, and readiness for dialogue was signaled by, among others, such diverse countries as China, Japan, Vietnam, Laos, and the Philippines."

The author quotes White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater as saying that the Krasnoyarsk proposals were "'not reasonable'" and also criticizes the negative U.S. response to "the Soviet offer to turn the Krasnoyarsk radar station into an international center for peaceful space research." The commentary then draws the conclusion: "While in the countries of Asia and the

Pacific—and even far beyond—the Soviet initiative has mostly met with a positive response, Washington proves that it is obviously not interested in greater security in the Asia-Pacific region."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 15-21 Sep

AU2309141188 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 16 to 22 September reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses): The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo were present at a friendly meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan, in Berlin on 19 September: Willi Stoph, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Guenter Mittag, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. (20 Sep, pp 1, 3)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received outgoing Belgian ambassador Roger Prues for a farewell visit in Berlin on 20 September. (21 Sep, p 2) (filed as AU2209162088)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, inaugurated the antifascist memorial in the East Berlin Marzahn Machine Tool Works, on 16 September. (17-18 Sep, p 8)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, received Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan in Halle on 20 September. (21 Sep, p 1) (filed as AU2209125488)

Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, visited the Karl Liebknecht Combine in Magdeburg on 19 September. (20 Sep, p 2) He also opened the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow in Magdeburg on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, recieved scientists from nine socialist countries for talks in Berlin on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership attended the ceremony on the occasion of the appointment of a new rector at the Freiberg Mining Academy on 16 September. (17-18 Sep, p 5) He congratulated Central Committee Member Paul Roscher on his 75th birthday in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 18 September (19 Sep, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, Politburo Member, addressed the 13th Berlin Exemplary Workers Conference on 16 September. (17-18 Sep, p 4)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, addressed the 13th Berlin Exemplary Workers Conference on 16 September (17-18 Sep, p 3) and visited the Oberspree Cable Works on 19 September. (20 Sep, p 2)

Gerhard Schuerer, Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a ceremony in which Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan laid a wreath at the Berlin antifascism memorial on 18 September. (19 Sep, p 1) He also accompanied Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan on a visit to Halle on 20 September. (21 Sep, p 1) (filed as AU2209125488)

Gerhard Schuerer participated in a meeting between Erich Honecker and Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan in East Berlin on 19 September. (20 Sep, pp 1, 3) (filed as AU2209103588)

Horst Sindermann, Politburo member and president of the GDR People's Chamber, attended a reception of the chairmen and presidents of Warsaw Pact states' parliaments in East Berlin on 15 September. (16 Sep, p 1)

Harry Tisch, Politburo member and chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Council, received representatives of the Organization of Working People of Mozambique in East Berlin on 15 September. (16 Sep, p 2) He addressed an international meeting of construction worker union representatives in East Berlin on 16 September (16 Sep, p 2) and visited the Wismar Shipyard on 21 September. (22 Sep, p 1)

Foreign Affairs Official on Soviet Withdrawal

LD2709092688 Budapest MTI in English
0745 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—Tuesday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries a full-page interview with Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, on security policy issues. Here follows the part of the interview dealing with the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

Question: Is the presence of Soviet troops necessary to guarantee our territorial integrity? Can our security be guaranteed solely with international means?

[Answer] "Taking our geo-strategical situation into consideration, namely that we have no common borders with NATO member states, and that Austria and Yugoslavia present a characteristic 'security safety zone', it is my conviction that we are capable of driving back a possible aggression, and of defending our land frontiers with our national forces. However, to defend our air space, we need the unified air defence system of the Warsaw treaty, within this the direct participation of the Soviet Air Force. Thus, alongside the current European power relations, the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is not a fundamental condition of our external and internal security. Upholding or changing the current situation primarily depends on the resolution of the two parties, with the condition that the probable result not fundamentally change the power relation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The withdrawal of Soviet troops is not a bilateral matter from the aspect that this has effects on the outcome of the arms restriction and disarmament talks. Certain Western experts argue whether this has particular importance for us or not. In our view, as our country is situated on the outskirts of the main battle arena, the Soviet presence is secondary in this area. However, from our point of view, even a partial withdrawal of troops would be of primary significance. Mainly because it would be met with an extremely favourable home political and international reaction, and would have a confidence-building effect. It would increase confidence towards, and respect for the Hungarian leadership both within and outside our borders, and would strengthen our internal bearing, our sense of national responsibility. Among the important consequences of the measure would be that it would intensify Hungarian-Soviet friendship, rather than weaken it."

Question: Does a possible withdrawal of Soviet troops have any realistic basis?

[Answer] "This question has come up several times in the past period, in various contexts. I believe that a total withdrawal does not seem a realistic political goal in the medium-range, but there are chances for a partial troop withdrawal if the all-European processes and the internal relations of the two countries develop favourably and in an unbroken manner. Such a partial withdrawal would also considerably increase the international respect and trustworthiness of the Soviet leadership as General Secretary Gorbachev himself said: We do not wish to station Soviet troops abroad forever. After Afghanistan, this would be a good example that armed forces can be withdrawn not only from crisis zones, and this would set a precedent for the states of the world. Naturally, alongside the just Hungarian interests, the just interests of the Soviet Union also have to be kept in mind. We most of all have to guarantee the status quo, to guarantee and safeguard the alliance obligations. It is, however, my conviction that there are no irresolvable differences between the two."

Question: Is is true that the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is a major economic burden for us?

[Answer] "I can definitely say this is not true. Views of this kind originate from lacking information. Amidst the tense international relations of the 1950s, which were frought with another world war, the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary relieved our country exhausted in the Second World War from major defence expenditures. We now have to again examine the additional loads that a possible Soviet troop withdrawal would pose, and to what extent this would increase our defence expenditures. International experiences also warn us of this. One thing is certain: Our Army has sufficient strength to defend our land frontiers. However, the unified air defence system of the Warsaw Treaty, the allied cooperation of the Soviet Air Force is necessary to guarantee the inviolability of our air space, and we could replace this only with considerable financial sacrifices. It would by no means be favourable for us were further NATO aircrafts stationed in the operational direction", said Csaba Tabajdi.

MSZMP Central Committee Meets 27 Sep

LD2709082988 Budapest MTI in English
0815 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party opened on Tuesday in Budapest, under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar. At the proposal of the Political Committee, the Central Committee is to hear reports on current foreign political and international issues, the position of the party and topical questions of party life and home politics. The proposal to set up advisory bodies affiliated to regional groups is also to be discussed, along with questions of personnel.

Approves Agenda

LD2709104288 Budapest MTI in English
0925 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the HUngarian Socialist Workers' Party met in session in Budapest on Tuesday. In accordance with its earlier decision, the Central Committee held an open session, and the written and electronic press was present.

Janos Kadar, chairing the session, ruled that a quorum is present.

The body approved, with a unanimous decision, the proposal of the Political Committee for the agenda of the session:

1. A report on current foreign political and international issues. Presented by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee.

2. Verbal report on the position of the party, several topical issues of party life and home politics. Presented by Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

3. The proposal on setting up advisory bodies affiliated to the Central Committee and regional groups. Presented by Rezso Nyers, member of the Political Committee.

4. Various issues awaiting decision, to be presented by the current chairman of the session.

5. Questions of personnel. Presented by the current chairman of the session.

The Central Committee decided to discuss the last point on the agenda in a closed session, then the Central Committee passed a resolution under which the leaders of the central press are ranked as invited participants having conference rights.

Analyzes Foreign Policy Report

LD2709143588 Budapest MTI in English
1107 GMT 27 Sep 88

["Central Committee Session—Szuros"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The written report analyzing international issues, which was provided in advance to members of the CC, states that since the June session of the Central Committee saw the continuation of East-West dialogue, which is becoming permanent and increasingly successful, promising signs have emerged in the process of the political settlement of regional conflicts. These changes are mainly advanced by the strengthening cooperation readiness of the two world powers, and the growing acceptance of the role of the United Nations Organization. Alongside the Soviet initiatives, the leadership of the United States is now also accepting great power responsibility for the fate of the world. The endeavors of the Soviet Union to build a bridge with the next American administration in the interest of the continuity of relations, are also important.

Recently European problems, including the relations between the socialist countries and the Western European states, and integration organizations, have received greater attention in the development of East-West relations, as reflected by the documents approved at the Warsaw session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, which brought favourable international reaction. The West mainly appreciated that the positions reflected, in totality, the need for transformaton on alliance level.

The report states that our partners receive our endeavours with understanding that the first stage of armed forces reduction extend to Hungary. The reduction of Hungarian Armed Forces, and the Soviet troops stationed here can alike be taken into account.

Further efforts are needed for the Vienna follow-up conference to complete its work this autumn with the approval of a meaningful and balanced closing document, stresses the report, whch then discusses the Romanian conduct that obstructs agreement. "If the closing document is approved in the end, it could provide authorization for follow-up programmes that would ensure the furtherance of the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", states the report. In this case, talks on conventional disarmament could begin this autumn.

In the spirit of socialist foreign political efforts, Hungarian relations established with the developed capitalist countries and their economic and political integration organizations contribute to the stabilization of European relations, and cooperation between the two world systems. The official visit of Karoly Grosz to the United States and Canada was successful beyond preliminary expectations.

Karoly Grosz's talks with American political leaders, the representatives of business life and the Hungarians in the United States justified that the economic and political reform efforts of the Hungarian party and government, and the international conduct of the country has met with sympathy from the governmental and business spheres of the United States, and intensified the demand to further develop Hungarian-American cooperation. Direct relations created with influential representatives of American economic and business life can provide further resources to restructure the economy.

This was the first time that leaders of the Hungarian emigration in the United States and Canada had the opportunity of direct contact with the highest-level Hungarian leader. These meetings also expressed the new quality of the minority policy.

Discussing the visit of Karoly Grosz to the German Democratic Republic, the report states that differing from the past, emphasis was placed on national characteristics and respect for the methods deriving from them, the importance of mutually applying utilizable experiences, rather than on the difference between the elements of socio-economic practice. The visit focused on economic relations and issues related to developing technical and scientific cooperation.

With respect to the settlement of relations between Hungary and the European Economic Community, the report stresses that among the goals of economic cooperation, the agreement serves to intensify Hungarian-EEC relations, expand company cooperation, set up joint venturers, and boost scientific and technical progress.

This is the first bilateral agreement which comprehensively settles the economic and commercial relations of the EEC and a CMEA member state.

In the following, the report of the Central Committee secretary discussed relations created with the European Parliament, the European Council, the successful visit of a delegation of the NATO Parliament, and Hungarian-Israeli and the Hungarian-South Korean relations. It states that in spite of the lack of diplomatic relations, political relations with Israel, and economic and sports relations with South Korea have recently become more lively. An important stage of this process is that the interest representation offices have begun operation in Budapest and Tel Aviv, and the opening of commercial representations provided with consular authority in the capitals of Hungary and South Korea has been announced.

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, the leader of the Likud organization, paid a private visit to Budapest in September, on Israeli initiative, and held talks with the Hungarian prime minister. Apart from the issue of relations between the two countries, this meeting was also justified by the fact that Hungary, in proportion with its modest possibilities, invariably strives to promote the settlement of the Middle East crisis through negotiations, and to ensure the equal participation of the sides concerned in the conflict.

The settlement of Hungarian-South Korean relations, to which considerable Hungarian foreign economic interests are attached, was begun in harmony with the efforts of opening towards the Far East and the Pacific Ocean region. "In accordance with our political and economic goals, our national interests, and the common endeavours of most of the socialist countries, we have created, and wish to place on firm bases our economic, commercial, financial, cultural, sports, scientific-technical, and consular relations with the Republic of Korea", notes the document.

Foreign Policy Report Approved

LD2709143688 Budapest MTI in English
1350 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The debate on the first point of the agenda of the session of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee ended in Budapest on Tuesday. The Central Committee approved the report and the oral supplement submitted by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, on topical foreign policy and international issues. In the debate, where 8 contributions were heard, it was stated that the flexibility of Hungarian foreign policy and Hungarian initiatives are followed with increasing sympathy.

Several contributors mentioned that our foreign policy is consistently seeking to reduce the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. Hungary invariably supports the Soviet Government's policy aimed at establishing an equilibrium on a lower level between the forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO. The contributors approved the Arad meeting and agreed with Karoly Grosz who had brought to light the issues that burden Hungarian-Romanian relations, and made concrete proposals for their improvement.

It was emphasized that Hungarians living in the Western world are playing an increasing role in the implementation of the Hungarian foreign policy. Discussions are held on the basis of principle and cooperation possibilities guided by good intentions on behalf of the partners.

Marjai Departs To Sign EEC Trade Agreement

LD2509173488 Budapest MTI in English
1655 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, Sunday left for Brussels, where the agreement on trade, and on commercial and economic cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the European Economic Community is to be signed on Monday.

Arrives in Brussels 25 Sep

LD2509222488 Budapest MTI in English
2033 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Text] Brussels, September 25 (MTI)—Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, and his party arrived in Brussels on Sunday evening, to sign the commercial and economic cooperation agreement between Hungary and the EEC. The signing ceremony will take place on Monday, in the Brussels Palace of the Council of the European Communities. On behalf of the Community, Theodhoros Pangalos, Greek co-minister of foreign affairs and president of the council, and Willy de Clercq, member of the Brussels Committee of the Community responsible for external relations and commerce-policy, on behalf of Hungary Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai will sign the agreement that came about as a result of several years of negotiations, and initialled on June 30.

This is the first bilateral agreement to be signed between the EEC and a CMEA member state following the joint statement of the two economic organizations on June 25, and is also the most extensive agreement in the history of relations between the EEC and the socialist countries.

'Official' Statement on Agreement

LD2609134388 Budapest MTI in English
1235 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 26, 1988, (MTI-ECONEWS)—The following official Hungarian statement was made public in connection with the agreement between Hungary and the EC:

In Brussels on 26 September, 1988, representatives of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the European Economic Community signed the agreement on trade and commercial and economic cooperation. On behalf of Hungary, the agreement was signed by Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, and for the European Economic Community by Theodoros Pangalos, alternate minister of foreign affairs of Greece, president of the Council of the European Communities, and by Willy de Clercq, member of the Commission of the European Communities.

By this act, the official negotiations going on between the two parties since June, 1987, came to an end. The ten-year agreement will come into force after ratification procedures have been completed—expected to be this year.

The agreement now signed gives final effect to Hungary's rights in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), i.e., it provides a time-scale for the elimination of discriminatory quantitative restrictions still being applied in respect to Hungarian exports in the member states of the Community. In addition, the agreement covers areas of economic cooperation.

The agreement establishes a joint committee, which convenes once a year, to survey the functioning of the agreement and to make recommendations to the parties concerning the expansion of trade and the further intensification of economic relations.

The bilateral agreement, based on the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, envisages a progressive elimination, by a specified deadline, of the quantitative restrictions inconsistent with GATT, i.e., discriminatory ones. Accordingly, part of the restrictions are to be eliminated within one year from the coming into force of the agreement, and the majority by December 31, 1992. During the course of 1992, the joint committee will examine measures for the elimination of the existing restrictions.

By December 31, 1995, however, all discriminatory quantitative restrictions will have been abolished.

The agreement provides for the possibility of effective safeguard measures for both parties in order to eliminate eventual market disruption. The relevant provisions are in conformity with GATT rules and, among other things, stipulate that the settlement of disputes should first be attempted on a bilateral basis.

The agreement envisages that the parties examine the possibilities of granting mutual concession in agricultural trade and in customs tariffs.

The agreement provides for reciprocal business facilitation measures.

Besides provisions relating to trade, the agreement covers economic cooperation which is to be promoted in as many areas as possible, such as industry, agriculture, energy, transport, scientific research, tourism and environmental protection.

The agreement does not affect the sectoral and technical agreements or arrangements currently in force between Hungary and the European Economic Community concerning textiles, sheep and mutton, pork, cheese and wine, and does not cover products falling under the control of the European Coal and Steel Community. As for these products, a bilateral agreement is to be concluded in order to apply to them the provisions of the agreement now signed.

Marjai on Cooperation, GATT

LD2609200588 Budapest MTI in English
1931 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Brussels, September 26 (MTI)—The signing of the agreement between the European Economic Community and the Hungarian People's Republic will contribute to the process of normalizing relations, said Theodoros Pangalos, Greek associate minister for foreign affairs, and current chairman of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities, in his welcoming address at the signing ceremony on Monday. Willy de Clercq, member of the EEC Commission in charge of foreign relations, also welcomed the agreement, and then Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, delivered a speech.

He stated that the agreement expresses the present-day reality of the interdependence of states irrespective of social, political or economic systems, confirms to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the demand for equality, and is yet another step in the favourably developing system of East-West relations, which has recently resulted in a CMEA-EEC agreement on the development of relations.

Then he spoke about efforts being made for a radical restructuring of the Hungarian economy, improvements in international competitiveness and a profound reform of economic management and the system of political institutions. To attain these goals, Hungary cannot do without the advantages of international economic cooperation, he said. The total elimination of military-political confrontation and economic-technical separation between Eastern and Western Europe, he added, would create new opportunities for Europe to regain its due importance in the development of human civilization.

Jozsef Marjai stressed the importance of lifting discriminative quantitative restrictions incompatible with GATT regulations, and the possibility of making headway in such important areas as the trade in farm and food products, customs clearance and technical-scientific cooperation. He said negotiations should be started on extending the agreement to metallurgical products, and said that common efforts to develop integration within the Community and to create the real internal market planned for 1992 should not put up further obstacles but furnish new opportunities for cooperation.

The signing of the agreement and the establishment of diplomatic relations reflect a constructive political intention on both sides, the Hungarian deputy prime minister said in his concluding remarks.

Prior to the signing, M. Jacques Delors, chairman of the EEC Commission, met Jozsef Marjai in his office. The Hungarian deputy prime minister also met M. Robert Urbain, Belgian minister of foreign trade.

On Monday evening, Jozsef Marjai and his entourage returned to Budapest.

British Official Protests Romanian Villagization

AU2709110288 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
22 Sep 88 p 2

[MTI report: "Howe Calls Upon Romanian Government To Halt Village Destruction Program"]

[Text] In a letter of protest sent to his Romanian counterpart Ioan Totu, Sir Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, has expressed his government's "serious concern" about the village destruction program known as "systematization." The letter of protest, which is rarely employed in British diplomatic practice, was sent by courier on 12 September but was only published in leading London dailies on 21 September, following Sir Geoffrey Howe's return from his 10-day tour of Africa.

In his letter, Sir Geoffrey Howe firmly calls upon the Romanian Government to halt this program, which, if implemented, "will violate human rights and will cause irreparable damage to our common European cultural and architectural heritage."

In its report entitled "Howe Protests the Romanian Terror Directed Against the Peasants," THE DAILY TELEGRAPH reminds its readers that "Great Britain has repeatedly expressed its official protest against President Ceausescu's decision, which, by pursuing an industrial-centered Stalinist nightmare, will lead to the destruction of the homes of thousands of people, including the homes of many of the Hungarian and German national minorities."

Scientific Workers' Union Opposes Romanian Plan

AU2309072188 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
20 Sep 88 p 5

["Appeal by the Scientific Workers' Trade Union"]

[Text] According to world press information, the Romanian Government has begun to implement its so-called resettlement plan which includes the destruction of 8,000 villages and the forced relocation of their population of several million people. This plan, which totally disregards the opinions and will of this population, will cause massive individual human tragedies because it destroys the traditional framework of human life and work and eliminates the basic conditions of a nation's life.

This measure deeply violates the basic human rights of the national minorities living in Romania— more than 2 million Hungarians, more than 250,000 Germans, and tens of thousands of Serbians, Ukrainians, and Bulgarians. This is because the systematic destruction of their centuries-old villages, the destruction of the historical and cultural roots of their homes, churches, and cemeteries, and their forced relocation and assimilation into the Romanian ethnic majority will deprive these national minorities of their national identity and their mother tongue. This plan also violates the human rights of the Romanian population because millions of Romanians will also lose their native land and their cultural memorials. It will additionally deliver a serious blow to European culture as a whole because it will deprive this culture of a considerable number of historical and cultural values.

The planned destruction of villages is useless and senseless, and it can only be justified by the intention of the government in Bucharest to force the country's population even more under its total control and to frighten them and by its desire to totally assimilate the national minorities and to destroy their culture. This policy aimed at forcefully assimilating the national minorities and depriving them of their national identity has been leading to serious consequences for quite some time. The current plan for the destruction of villages intends to make these consequences final and irreversible.

Therefore, on behalf of the Hungarian Scientific Workers' Trade Union, we call upon the international trade union movements and the world's scientists and their organizations to support us in our struggle against this violation of the law and this madness, and to express their solidarity with the endangered millions of Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and other national minorities!

We call upon them to raise their voices against the implementation of this inhuman and anticultural plan, to intervene with the government in Bucharest and the

trade union center there to stop this destruction, and if rational argument does not help, then to use the opportunities inherent in an economic, commercial, transport, and cultural boycott.

We call upon them to use their influence to make the world's governments and international organizations exercise pressure on the Romanian leadership to implement individual and collective human rights!

This senseless tyranny against European culture, the historical past, and against communities of innocent people should be made to face the international solidarity of the entire world's working people.

This solidarity should be able to halt this destruction!

Cultural Cooperation With Romania Examined

AU2009134988 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Sep 88 p 5

[Unattributed article: "On Hungarian-Romanian Cultural Cooperation—Plans Awaiting Implementation"]

[Text] The agreements on cultural and scientific cooperation signed in 1961 and the subsequent work plans constitute the legal basis of Hungarian-Romanian cultural relations. The last such work program was in force between 1981 and 1985, and it is characteristic of this program that it was not signed until 1982.

Compared with the work programs in use during the same period in other socialist countries, this program contained a rather modest framework for cooperation. The Romanian side increasingly curbed the implementation of this narrow framework; thus the Hungarian side could only partially implement this work program. Direct contacts between institutions could not function and the Romanian side canceled the mutual exchanges of artistic groups and guest performances one after another. In fact, contacts between artistic associations had ensured the continuity of cultural relations. We succeeded in contributing to these relations and in at least partially fulfilling the artists' demands only with great effort. However, the mutual publication of books functioned relatively undisturbed during this time.

As for the activity of the Hungarian-Romanian Mixed Committee on Cultural Cooperation, the Arad summit dealt with the need to continue this activity and to broaden cultural cooperation. The eighth session of this committee was held in Bucharest in 1984 to discuss the implementation of the work plan to exchange views on the relations between educational and production activities, and to establish a mixed committee on school manuals. The Hungarian side invited a Romanian delegation to hold talks on the equality of diplomas. Cooperation between museums was discussed at this meeting and proposals were made to the mixed committee of historians. The Hungarian-Romanian Mixed Committee on Cultural Cooperation held its 9th—and so far its last— session in Budapest from 19 to 21 June 1985.

The Hungarian side primarily urged implementing representative events, mainly organized solely by Hungary, and for a qualitative improvement in cooperation. The Hungarian side regarded as important the direct cooperation between the two countries' artistic associations and cultural institutions, and stressed their role in education. The report of the mixed committee on school manuals was on the agenda of this session, but the committee in question did not begin work at that time; thus, this issue played an incentive role at most. Reports were submitted on cooperation in public education, primarily in the area of amateur artistic groups. The committee decided on the agenda for the next meeting: to discuss the cooperation to be implemented in the area of film industry and higher education and to report on the activity of the committee on school manuals. It is the Romanian side's turn to organize this meeting, but, despite repeated promises, they have not come up with any proposals in recent years....

Hungarian efforts to restore relations have not decreased, even during the recent years of stagnation. In June 1988, the Hungarian side informed the Romanian side about opportunities for continuing cooperation restoring cooperation, like Romanian participation in music teacher training in Kecskemet, holding meetings of the committee on school manuals (even in Romania), exchanging or unilaterally opening exhibitions, participation by Romanian amateur groups in the Choir Festival in Debrecen, inviting leaders to Romanian folklore groups in Hungary, and so on....

The Hungarian side proposed organizing elaborate cultural days in Hungary in 1989 and in Romania in 1990, but there has been no reaction from the Romanian side so far. In spite of all this, we are convinced that we should not give up trying, and we should continue to make use of every opportunity to renew contacts and broaden cooperation between our two countries.

Daily Views 'Resignation' of Polish Government

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Warsaw correspondent Jozsef K. Nyiro: "The Government Goes, the Problems Remain"]

[Text] Following a debate of more than 12 hours, on 19 September the Polish Parliament accepted the government resignation, with only 1 vote against the decision and only 16 abstentions. There have not been such clear decisions in the Sejm lately. In harmony with the SD and ZSL deputies, and with the secular, Catholic, and independent deputies, the overwhelming majority of PZPR deputies thought that the government should resign.

Besides, the fate of this government was already sealed on 18 September. On this day, representatives from the different parties held a meeting during which they listened separately to the report of the committee reviewing the government reform activity.

This committee called for a thorough reorganization of the government. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who participated at the talks in the PZPR deputies, stressed on 18 September that the Sejm had the final word in evaluating government activity. With this statement, he provided an explanation for the failure of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum at the end of August 1988 to decide on the fate of the government. Jaruzelski went even further by declaring that the currently emerging political style should become permanent.

All this also meant that the group of PZPR deputies in the Sejm were given a free hand in how to vote on 19 September, and everyone was able to decide himself whether he found the report of the aforementioned special committee justified or not. In view of the fact that the group of PZPR deputies constitute an absolute majority in the Sejm, and that an absolute majority of votes is needed to topple the government, the eventual fall of the government was predictable.

This prediction was also supported by the fact that, on 18 September, the two coalition partners clearly called for the resignation of the government rather than pointing out the mistakes committed by the current government, claiming that the new government should be much more of a coalition than the previous one. Roman Malinowski, who is not only the Sejm chairman but also the head of the ZSL, said the following: "The essential thing is that the parties should participate in the government through their representatives, and they should not rule by means of regulations and directives."

Thus, it is already understandable that, at the Sejm meeting, the government took the initiative and resigned. However, there is no doubt truth in what the resigned premier said in his farewell speech: The government can go, but the problems remain.

The Sejm debate on 19 September and the decision adopted by the Sejm clearly showed the type of prevailing problems. On one hand, there is a huge foreign debt that burdens the country. In addition, Poland has not received new loans in recent years. Thus, the country is burdened not only by the need to repay its debts, but also by its inability to find financial sources for renewing its outdated and backward economic structure. According to the Sejm decision, the government activity was characterized by half solutions in this difficult period. This led to a decline in the reform process, and the parliament cannot accept this because the goal is to overcome the organizational, conscious, and political obstacles that hinder economic balance and efficiency more firmly than hitherto.

The debate clearly shows that the government has lost the support of all the classes and considerable strata of the society.

Some deputies drew the necessary conclusions very harshly. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, one of the leading politicians of the ZSL, said that, personally, he would not blame this government for everything. The government has not been sovereign in the prevailing political system. Its direct control by the political leadership of one party has, obviously, been a disconsideration of the principle of coalition government and proof of the fact that the role of this government has been reduced to executing orders. According to Kozakiewicz, all this does not mean that the PZPR does not play a particular leading role, but it is impossible to carry out a radical economic and social reform without a radical change in the leading role of the party.

The Sejm decision also points out that a successful reform depends on whether they are able to modify the current system of exercising power. In this respect, the Sejm pointed out that the mutual relations between the government and the political leadership should be clearly defined, and, at the same time, the principle of personal responsibility should be asserted in the highest state bodies.

Obviously, the coming days will be busy with negotiations on establishing a new government in Poland. In accordance with the Sejm decision, the previous cabinet will be built in two ways: On one hand, coalition party politicians are expected to play a greater role; and on the other hand, experts who, so far, have been criticizing the activity of the executive power from outside, will also join the government.

Now, at the time of negotiations on forming a new government, political observers think that Jaruzelski's declarations made at the latest PZPR Central Committee Plenum are extremely important: "The party is not yet accustomed to loudly criticizing the government. We should end this practice. The party is a political force which represents the current and historical interests of working people. But it cannot, and will not, become a shadow government."

The Sejm will decide on the new premier at its next session on 27 September 1988.

Foreign Affairs Secretary Horn on FRG Ties

AU2009082888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, by Sandor Gyori in Bonn: "FRG Is Following With Empathy Hungary's Economic Developments—Gyula Horn Interviewed by NEPSZABADSAG on His Talks in Bonn"; date not given]

[Text] Gyula Horn held talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs; Horst Teltschik, foreign policy advisor to Chancellor Kohl; Jurgen Sudhoff, state

secretary for foreign affairs; Egon Bahr and Horst Ehmke, members of the opposition SPD Presidium; and international policy experts, in Bonn from 14 to 15 September. Following his talks, Gyula Horn met with Hungarian journalists accredited to Bonn, including NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Sandor Gyori. We hereby publish Gyula Horn's answers to the questions of the NEPSZABADSAG correspondent:

[Gyori] How would you characterize the current state of Hungarian-FRG relations, and in what direction do you expect them to develop?

[Horn] As is well known, the FRG is the capitalist country with the most intensive and the greatest multilateral relations with Hungary, and these relations are constantly strengthening in all areas. This is also true of our political dialogue conducted on various levels, a political dialogue which can be regarded as a permanent consultation. I think that in the economic sphere the FRG is Hungary's indispensable partner. Without trying to differentiate between the FRG and the other Western states, I must conclude that the FRG is very flexible in building bilateral economic relations and in considering long-term factors.

[Gyori] According to the FRG press, the FRG might join the pace of Hungarian economic development by extending to us new credit. Are these rumors justified?

[Horn] Indeed, preparations are underway to formulate an agreement between banks on the basis of which we would receive a new loan for restructuring the Hungarian economy. We are not talking about a financial credit, but about a concrete development loan on the large enterprise level.

[Gyori] One can notice a certain duplicity in the way the FRG press is treating the Hungarian changes.

[Horn] First of all, I have noticed here great empathy for and interest in Hungarian efforts. My FRG partners no doubt greatly appreciate the changes that have taken place so far. Moreover, I have heard opinions according to which Hungary is a pioneer in implementing economic and political reforms. However, I should not avoid the essence of the matter either: They are no doubt increasingly worried about our economic situation.

Our FRG partners are aware of the state and problems of our economy. They see and understand that the new leadership elected at the party conference in May had to assume extremely heavy burdens. This leadership must take a series of unpopular measures, and the population is now beginning to really notice the effects and consequences of these measures and of other changes. In spite of all these things, our FRG partners have openly and objectively stated that they agree with the goals formulated by the Hungarian leadership, but they find the pace of economic management reorganization too slow.

[Gyori] The increased pace of forming mixed enterprises and of the flow of capital is too slow. To what extent does this affect our current condition, and can we expect some changes in this area?

[Horn] It is important to stress that the flow of FRG capital to the Hungarian economy is slow not because they do not see prospects for cooperation or because they do not want to support our current, new, forms of domestic measures through economic means. The continuous, extremely bureaucratic system of licenses is the main obstacle hindering the establishment of joint enterprises. It is in our own interest to make fast and radical changes in this area, and we will do so.

[Gyori] Romania's national minority policy has been on the agenda of your talks in Bonn. What is the opinion of the FRG leadership concerning the Hungarian attitude on this matter? Is there some kind of cooperation between our countries on this issue?

[Horn] During our talks, Hans-Dietrich Genscher on behalf of his government clearly confirmed his support for Hungarian actions. They agreed with the fact that Karoly Grosz had accepted the Romanian invitation to hold a summit in Arad. This summit has created opportunities for decreasing the tension between the two countries. In addition, I told my negotiating partners that we continue to do everything in our power to solve the extremely serious problems that emerged in our bilateral relations with Romania as a result of the situation concerning their Hungarian national minority.

As for the second part of your question, there is no such cooperation. Rather, there is consultation, or an exchange of views. We do agree that the Romanians' rude violation of human rights through forceful assimilation of its national minorities is hardly just an issue of bilateral relations. It is our principled position that one should not differentiate between a Warsaw Pact member state and another country when it violates universal human rights. The issue of universal human rights is at stake here. The EEC is expected to take a position on this matter in the near future.

[Gyori] Speaking about international issues, how did Bonn react to Hungary's proposal to be the first to implement a possible reduction in arms and armed forces?

[Horn] Bonn reacted with considerably great interest and support for this proposal, but it is too early to tell what areas a conventional arms reduction in Europe would affect first. The disarmament conference will decide on this issue.

Grosz, Nemeth Receive IMF Official Erb

LD2109160388 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI) Richard Erb, deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund, visited Hungary from September 18 to 21. He was

here on the invitation of State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary. During his visit, Mr Erb met Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee [HSWP], and Rezso Nyers, all members of the HSWP Political Committee, along with Jozsef Marjai and Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers. Discussions were held on cooperation between Hungary and the International Monetary Fund, and the general work being done by the IMF. The Hungarian negotiating partners summarized the forthcoming tasks of the government's programme, and the plans to accelerate the reform process. The sides mutually reconfirmed their intention to replace the one-year agreement in force at present with a longer maturity stand-by credit agreement covering the entire period of the government's programme.

Grosz Meets With European Parliament Envoy

LD2209130188 Budapest MTI in English
1149 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Thursday [22 September] met in parliament Axel Norbert Zargest, representative of the European Parliament, who is on an official visit to Hungary holding talks on developing relations between Hungary and the European Economic Community.

Soviet Friendship Delegation Meets Berecz

LD2409153388 Budapest MTI in English
1451 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The Soviet delegation which attended the Budapest conference of the friendship societies of the socialist countries left Budapest on Saturday [24 September]. The delegation, led by Svetlana Ivanovna Svetzova, vice-president of the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies, held talks with Antal Apro, president of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, and with several other officials of the society, along with Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

The delegation met Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee. Also present at the talks were Vladlen Puntus, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest, and Ivan Vashkeba, representative of the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies to Hungary.

Karpati Departs To View USSR Army Exercise

LD2009082688 Budapest MTI in English
0647 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—On Tuesday [20 September] Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, left on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the head of a military delegation, on the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet minister of defence. Ferenc Karpati is to see the "Autumn-88" exercise of the appointed troops and staffs of the Soviet Army.

Returns 23 Sep

LD2409013288 Budapest MTI in English
1128 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, who headed a military delegation to the Soviet Union, returned to Budapest on Friday [23 September]. Ferenc Karpati met the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet minister of defence.

SFRY Military Delegation Concludes Visit

LD2109212189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1810 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (TANJUG)— A Yugoslav Armed Forces delegation ended a several-day official and friendly visit to Hungary today [21 September].

The delegation was headed by Yugoslav General Staff Chief Colonel-General Stevan Mirkovic.

The delegation held talks with Hungary's General Staff Chief Lt. Col.-General Jozsef Pacsek and his associates and was received by Defence Minister Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati.

Mirkovic told TANJUG that the visit strengthened mutual trust between the two countries and their armies and enabled a comprehensive exchange of military experiences.

He said a realistic program of further bilateral cooperation was drawn up in accord with the two countries' economic and other capacities.

MSZMP Political Committee Meets 20 Sep

LD2009224488 Budapest MTI in English
1900 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—The Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session on Tuesday [20 September]. The body reviewed experiences relating to the activities of parliament. The Political Committee concluded that, since the 1985 elections, parliament had become more active and an efficient institution of state-political life.

The changes in social life made it necessary that in parliamentary work democratism be more expressedly given headway. It is the party's stance that parliament, keeping an eye on the national targets of constructing socialism, be more efficient in carrying out its constitutional tasks. The Political Committee endorsed the

upgrading of the statutes of parliament. It found substantiated the marking of the framework for the deputies' work in an unambigous way. The Political Committee supported and stimulated the expansion of publicity on parliament's work.

The political committee agreed that the present housing practice carried social tensions, therefore its comprehensive modernization was needed now. It had proposed that the working group engaged in this issue should also inform the Central Committee of its ideas.

Views Personnel Matters

LD2109000588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The MSZMP Politburo supports the modernization of National Assembly statutes. It recognizes the need to clearly designate the frameworks for the representatives' work, improve the system of interest harmonization, and loosen unnecessarily rigid restrictions. According to the Politburo, all this will provide a foundation for better parliamentary decisions. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Laszlo Major, head of the Central Committee Bureau, said that aside from these topics, the Politburo also discussed personnel and other matters which are its responsibility.

Hamori Says Trust in Leadership Showing 'Wear'

LD2409172688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Csaba Hamori has stated that trust in the new leadership is beginning to show signs of wear, and that the majority of people believe that nothing has changed since the national party conference.

The Politburo member and KISZ first secretary was speaking in Gyula at the opening of the Bekes County youth days. He said that this year, one can see in the economic field favorable processes. However, these are not yet the results of the structural transformation. Inflation is high; the debt has grown; and state support is excessive. The tax system has not improved performance and it has worsened the situation of people, who are in any case living in unsatisfactory conditions. Csaba Hamori stated that the tempo of change in political life is good. The party strives to politicize, to convince while avoiding authoritative methods.

In answer to a question, Csaba Hamori affirmed that in his view communist society is utopia. But the path leading to communism is not scientifically worked out, and in addition, the path followed to date does not even lead there.

SZOT Head Discusses Strikes, Other Unions

LD2409175088 Budapest MTI in English 1634 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—Saturday's MAGYAR NEMZET carries a lengthy interview with Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT). Excerpts from the interview:-

"With respect to those groups founded outside SZOT, I will come straight to the point and say that I, personally, acknowledge the autonomous groups, unions, and new trade unions as a reality. A sad reality for us, as those groups which operate independently from us imply criticism of official trade union activities. Under the noble aim, we have to do everything possible for our membership so that it can achieve its goals and find opportunities in the current framework."

Question: "Would you consider taking a joint stand with, for instance, SZOT and the Democratic Organization of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ), or perhaps with the Hungarian Democratic Front (MDF)?"

Answer: "A joint stand on concrete issues is expedient and unavoidable with the TDDSZ as it is a trade union. And I can imagine occasional cooperation with the Hungarian Democratic Forum, following its registration, when it operates as a legal organization with a programme and when it has experience of operation, and if its initiatives take a stand similar to that of the trade unions."

Q: "In your view, are strikes a part of human rights and of constitutional statehood?"

A: "Yes. If a trade union is to commit itself to the enforcement of interests, then its means have to include the ultimate weapon, strikes. I could say this is a collective human right. But the legal rules for applying this, which are obligatory for all, should be worked out as soon as possible, so that the evaluations cannot be miscontrued by either side later on. In other words, the legal regulation of strikes is in the interest of both the government and the trade unions, even if, in connection with the enforcement of this right, all concerned have to be aware that losses in production have to be paid for later on."

Q: "As a last resort, for instance, in a stand against the government or in the enforcement of trade union rights, could you imagine calling a general strike?"

A: "This should be avoided at all costs, but it obviously cannot be ruled out, or restricted by legal or other means". These were some of the points discussed by Sandor Nagy in the interview.

Pozsgay Appeals for Trade Unions' Support

LD2209044788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Representatives of the government and the trade unions met at SZOT [National Trade Union Council] Headquarters at 1600 sharp. The nine-strong delegations are headed by Sandor Nagy and Imre Pozsgay, respectively. We now bring you the opening speeches. The first to speak will be SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy:

[Begin recording] [Nagy] We have come to this negotiating table with the hope and intention of clarifying the contents of different—as well as identical stances—so that these differences can be brought even closer together in some cases. Perhaps there are even some points on which concrete agreement can be reached.

The fundamental goal of the trade union is to ensure that the country's economic and political stability is maintained and strengthened. We therefore think that it is in the fundamental interest of both sides to weigh the opinions and experiences and to find the solutions which are appropriate to this task and goal. Those present have been able to familiarize themselves with our suggestions. I would now like to hand you over to Comrade Pozsgay. We have agreed that he should outline for us the government's stand on the first point on the agenda. Thank you.

[Pozsgay] The fundametal interest of society as a whole is to preserve political stability and to allow, within the circumstances of political stability, the unfolding of a kind of reform process in which both economic reform and political reform take place within the framework of comprehensive radical changes, where the errors committed historically and the consequences arising from disequilibrium and one-sided practices are not reproduced. I am referring here to the period between '66 and the present era, especially between '66 and '86, when behind the emergence of disorders in the economic equilibrium lay a serious disharmony: the lack of development of a system of political institutions in relation to economic requirements and social efforts aimed at productivity.

A political effort which uses the reform of the political institutional system as a substitute for dealing with economic troubles and crisis symptoms would in no way be right nor could it be supported. So, these two programs must proceed simultaneously here. They serve not as substitutes for each other but rather are aimed at preparing a comprehensive and united social turnabout and renewal.

We are witnessing a peculiar political phenomenon. The country's official institutions, which we used to regard as basic institutions, have in general been slightly devalued in the public eye. This devaluation did not escape either the government or the trade union movement.

Our interest, which is attached to political stability, requires and would require the re-emergence of the government as an effective and strong organization or institution in the eyes of society. It should possess the political and administrative means for solving problems, and the government should receive society's approval for this, because otherwise it cannot attain this effectiveness. In this repect, our expectations are very great indeed regarding the trade union movement. The second point, arising precisely from this, is that with the government, if it considers itself to be an important national institution and the pinnacle of state administration, it is also in its interest for the trade union to be its authentic, autonomous, and sovereign partner in this matter, for this is what can create credibility for government work on this side of mass support, which is represented by employees.

Where we do ask for support and understanding from the trade union movement—and this must also be clarified in our political exchange of views—is primarily in requiring the trade unions to also show understanding for the government's situation, and not just in matters pertaining to the economic situation which is on the agenda here and to concepts related to next year's plans, but also in the sense that the government increasingly wishes to become—while also seeking its own independent political face—the government of the entire people. In other words, it is not just the government of employees, just as it does not wish to be present in Hungarian public life merely as the government of employers and enterpreneurs. But we would like the SZOT and the trade union movement lining up behind it to accept and support this type of political effort and intention, on the understanding—and I want to repeat stubbornly what I have said—that we for our part are obliged to respect to the utmost the autonomy and sovereignty of the trade union movement in this matter. [end recording]

New March Front Leader Explains Body's Aims

LD1709092288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hugarian 2000 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The New March Front organization has been formed. The president of the organization, Szilard Ujhelyi, speaks to Tamas Forro:

[Begin recording] [Forro] [Passage omitted] Allow me to quote from the list of your objectives: You say that one of the fundamental objectives of intellectual renewal is for the separation of official and unofficial public life, or publicity, to cease, and in the same manner for the exclusion of critical intellectual groups to stop. Free range must be assured for every perception, including freedom for criticism of official policy and institutions. Properly speaking, the attainment of this objective is also indispensable for the operation of the March Front.

[Ujhelyi] It is a condition for the operation of the March Front. Beyond that, its significance—and perhaps this sheds light on what we intend this intellectual grouping

to be—is that it is not meant to be a new alternative formation. It is not that we are opposed to the others, we are very pleased that there are such formations, but we do not want to act in place of anyone. The statement which you quoted is essential, that we are standing precisely against the exclusion of the others. Therefore, we want precisely their voice to be heard, furthermore, to be brought face to face and in open debate. This is because it is not possible to decree a general consensus from above; this can be achieved only through a struggle between various opinions, an opposition of various opinions.

[Forro] However, your other goals are, from several viewpoints, in harmony with the intentions of similar groups, such as the [Hungarian] Democratic Forum—for example, public and democratic debate, a reforming and transformation of the system of political institutions, a clarification of the history of our recent past, the free operation of openness.

[Ujhelyi] It is natural that they are in accordance. Without there being a common denominator, pluralism would be impossible to realize. Pluralism always blossoms only where a common denominator can be found, because pluralism [word indistinct] if there is not a suitable common denominator, and it is then that the supporters of order—I say it in quotes—threaten with the fear of anarchy. I have said that this is not directed against anyone, and it does not wish to exclude anyone, or replace anyone in this affair. I have to correct something: It is, after all, directed against some people: against those who see in freedom, as regards the appearance of the various alternative groups, the signs of anarchy.

[Forro] You were one of the founders of the March Front in 1937; indeed, I have read that perhaps the name comes from you. In the television interview entitled "Monastery and Barricade" which was broadcast a few years ago, you said that you were always attracted by politics when there were crisis situations. Is there a crisis situation now?

[Ujhelyi] Yes, I see and feel a crisis situation now, as well, and I have the characertistic of leaving the monastery in crisis situations, and I undertake the barricade. [end recording]

Support for Group Assessed

LD2409163488 Budapest MTI in English 1446 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The Secretariat of the new, recently-founded Hungarian intellectual group, the New March Front, has been informed about the support from many different quarters for the founding of the organization and the appeal it put out.

Ivan Vitanyi, the front's acting secretary, said that a wide variety of people were showing an interest in the group's efforts. Naturally, there were those who questioned the reason for the front's existence, and considered its founding a manipulation. However, most of the views forwarded to the organization felt the issues covered by the appeal were topical, and welcomed the critical, but objective, tone of the appeal.

Deputy Premier Medgyessy on Export Regulations

AU2009115288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 88 p 4

[Interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by Zsuzsa Gal: "The Chairman Is Voted Down on the Exchange Rate Issue"—date and place not given]

[Text] An unusual thing happened at the recent meeting of the Committee for Planned Economy: the committee did not adopt the chairman's position and, according to the rules of democracy, an opposing decision was adopted. The decision applied to the calculation of ruble-accounted exports, which will be computed on the basis of an exchange rate of 29 forints to R1 next year, rather than the current 26 forints.

Why did you oppose this measure?—we asked of Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy, chairman of the Committee for Planned Economy.

[Medgyessy] For two reasons. First, because this does not do anything to aid the structural modernization of Hungarian industrial production. In addition, such a measure will inevitably increase inflation. I proposed exactly the opposite: to reduce the 26-forint exchange rate.

[Gal] Why would a higher ruble exchange rate impede structural reorganization?

[Medgyessy] We must start from the premise that capitalist exports play a marginal role for most Hungarian industrial enterprises, while our socialist exports are concentrated in a large number of large-scale enterprises. Thus, if we want to modernize the industrial production structure, we cannot do this only by means of capitalist exports and the domestic market, but we should create requirements that would also start this process with the enterprises engaged in socialist exports. If requirements there are demanding only as regards capitalist exports, the enterprises will react by turning their backs on capitalist exports and postponing their structural reorganization.

[Gal] But, as far as I know, there is no marketable demand for the latest products on the socialist market. If that is true, exports will maintain the current Hungarian production structure regardless of the exchange rate.

[Medgyessy] This is not quite the case, and it will be less so in the future. We must bear in mind the constantly increasing demand for quality, because our partners will increasingly refuse to accept outdated products, and they will assert their national and economic interests more than ever before. If we do not prepare for this now, we may face unpleasant and serious surprises, and the unexpected consequences of stricter requirements could come down upon us quite suddenly. We could, however, anticipate these processes and force a structural modernization by paying less than 26 forints per 1R to exporting enterprises.

[Gal] Why would this work as an incentive?

[Medgyessy] Because the exporting enterprises could fulfill this requirement only if they produced more cheaply. If they used more up-to-date technology, they would use less material and energy and would make better use of the forces of production. In my view, this is what modernization is all about. The important thing is not the number of electronic components in a product but rather the profit that such a product can make. The market does not evaluate the technical parameters of a product directly but rather by the amount it pays for that product.

[Gal] In other words, in your view, the enterprises should also be more exposed to the effects of the market in their socialist exports.

[Medgyessy] Yes, even if this might cause temporary difficulties to some of these enterprises. We could support those enterprises which are able to restructure themselves with loans, and, on the basis of the bank's evaluation and proposals, the state would assume part of the interest to be paid on these loans. Thus, we would be justified in expecting these enterprises to start carrying out their structural reorganization.

[Gal] What was your other argument?

[Medgyessy] As a result of a higher exchange rate, imports become more expensive, which causes an increase in domestic prices. Exports, too, have an inflationary effect because they force enterprise incomes upwards. I think that, on many issues, we are unable to avoid taking inflationary measures. In this case, however, this can be avoided, and therefore, we should avoid it.

[Gal] What was the committee's argument?

[Medgyessy] The committee claimed that the industry would not be able to cope with a lower exchange rate and this would only lead to higher state subsidies.

[Gal] Now that the Committee for Planned Economy has decided to increase the exchange rate, is the industrial sector satisfied?

[Medgyessy] It seems that everyone is satisfied now. However, I do not think that this will last. Let me add that one who achieves the most for a given sector of interests in the short term does not necessarily defend the real interests of this sphere in the best manner. I am convinced that we should consider the long-term interests of Hungarian industry.

Budapest Family Welfare Assistance To Increase

AU2209083388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Sep 88 p 9

["DK"-signed report: "Social Welfare Assistance to Families in Budapest To Increase"]

[Text] The number of families in Budapest with two or more children has slightly increased in recent years, and so has the number of families in need of welfare assistance provided by the local councils. Because the family allowance does not compensate for their costs in regard to children, families with many children are finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. Therefore, the district Budapest councils distributed more than 31 million forints to 33,500 minors as special welfare assistance last year. Some 7,648 children belonging to 2,176 families received financial assistance from the regular welfare assistance fund of 55.5 million forints.

The special welfare benefits covered the full cost or part of the cost of day-care centers and kindergartens. According to child welfare experts and child guardians, daytime supervision of and catering for needy children can also be carried out this way. Welfare benefits are often provided for clothing, the purchase of food and school supplies, and even for camping purposes over the summer vacation.

According to a representative survey, the number of needy persons has almost doubled as a result of the deteriorating economic situation. Although the councils could provide individual assistance of 5,000 forints and 10,000 forints per child per year, they do not have the necessary budget, despite the increase in this budget by 12.1 million forints. The total educational allowance has also increased and has reached 1,500 forints. The Budapest Municipal Council has transferred 35.7 million forints to the district welfare authorities in order to increase the regular educational allowances this year.

It is today increasingly obvious that a uniform family-oriented welfare system must be worked out in Budapest, a system that will take into consideration the overall income of a family and will decide the amount of support accordingly. The position of the Budapest Municipal Council is that the per capita monthly income of a family should be complemented up to the level of the highest amount of regular welfare assistance, which is currently around 2,800 forints.

The establishment of a network of family assistance centers will no doubt represent progress in family welfare. Such centers began operation in the 6th and 10th Budapest districts in 1985, and a center for the welfare of Gypsy families began operation in the 15th Budapest district in 1986. New centers are currently being organized in Ujpest and the 18th Budapest district, and two new independent centers are being set up in Kobanya, in addition to the center already there. These centers can contribute greatly to providing steady welfare assistance to the needy and to a just distribution of the existing, limited welfare assistance funds.

Briefs

New Weekly on Sale

A new weekly paper entitled REFORM will be available tomorrow at newsstands. Editor in Chief Peter Toeke considers the primary task of the paper, which is declared to be an independent, democratic newspaper, to be advancing political, social, and economic reforms. In the first edition, interested readers will find interviews with Imre Pozsgay and Janos Berecz [members of the MSZMP Politburo], articles dealing with the expected regulation of strikes and work stoppages in general, and reports giving an insight into the world of banking and the stock exchange. [Text] [*LD2309020688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Sep 88 LD*]

Stricter Nuclear Regulations

In Hungary, much more severe security regulations are to be introduced in the nuclear energy branch. This was told to MTI by Academician Pal Tetenyi, president of the National Atomic Energy Commission, who participated in the General Assembly of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. He said that an agreement had been signed on reparations for damages caused by nuclear accidents, on the assertion of responsibility, and on the unification of specifications. Pal Tetenyi said that according to Hungarian opinion, the IAEA should supervise the peaceful use of the nuclear charges which are withdrawn from combat armaments as the result of disarmament agreements. [Text] [*LD2609002588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 88 LD*]

PZPR Nominates Rakowski for Prime Minister

LD2609185388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] The Polish press agency reports that on 26 September the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenary Session took place. The following resolution was adopted:

1. The Central Committee approved the activities of the Politburo connected with preparations for the coming Sejm sittings aimed at forming a new government of the Polish People's Republic presented by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

2. The Central Commitee Plenum, taking into consideration the position of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD Central Cooperation Commission, with the participation of the signatories of the PRON Declaration and of the PRON National Council Executive Committee Presidium, obliged the parliamentary PZPR to support at the Sejm sitting the candidature of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, for the post of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

3. The Central Committee expressed its gratitude to Comrade Zbigniew Messner for his dedication and effort in fulfilling the duties as chairman of the Council of Ministers between 1985-1988.

4. The Central Committee acknowledged a report on preparations for the work of the roundtable, presented by Comrade Czeslaw Kiszczak; a report on the progress of work on the plan for consolidating the national economy and the results of his visit to the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, presented by Comrade Wladyslaw Baka; and a report on the directions of party work for the implementation of the resolutions of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, presented by Comrade Jan Glowczyk; and recommended that the conclusions resulting from the reports be implemented.

5. The Central Committee obliged the Politburo to analyze in detail the views and proposals presented in the discussion and to make use of them in party work.

Sejm Elects Rakowski Prime Minister 27 Sep

Jaruzelski Asks Support

LD2709131788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the Sejm sesion in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker. May it please the House.

Today, we are facing an unusually responsible task. The Sejm of the PPR is to appoint the chairman of the Council of Ministers. At the next meeting he will present to the esteemed chamber proposals for the composition of his cabinet and a program of action. The new government team will take up its functions in an extremely complex situation. We do not intend to delude anyone that things are better than they are. Intense supply difficulties, strained family budgets, the housing collapse, and the grave sickness of the zloty are a thorn, an anxiety, and a pain. Society is plunged in uncertainty and emotions are running high. This obscures the historical measure of the transformations currently taking place, and yet, for millions of working people, the thought that once again we must start from scratch would be an insult. Somtimes civic courage is needed to say out loud that we have created something important and valuable through joint effort, throughout these exceedingly difficult years, and that by going along this uncleared, bumpy road we have not moved away from the line of reform and socialist renewal and that, on the contrary, we want to go more boldly, further, and deeper in this direction.

We must always keep in mind not only the desired point of arrival but also the point of departure from which various nations in different periods and with varying results commenced their race for a place in the sun. It is all the more indispensable—simply imperative—that every citizen should be aware of the uniqueness of the present moment. The characteristic historical paradox means that, in an unusually short historic period, both dangers and opportunities have accumulated simultaneously. We are probably all capable of reciting from memory the dangers and challenges for Poland, but Poland's roads are carpeted not only with boulders. In our history, favorable circumstances are an infrequent occurrence. That is why in the hour of doubt and fear it is worth remembering the great assets which we have at our disposal precisely now.

First, the civilization-enhancing progress made in the past 40 years by a Poland which finds itself with secure borders has created an invaluable material and intellectual potential. This is a solid foundation upon which one can build. Nothing has to be started in a bare and desolate terrain or on soil ravaged by fire.

Second, our immutable aspiration and dogged desire to continue deep reforms creates an exceptional situation. In the current century this situation is taking place for the first time for all intents and purposes. Before the war and after the war both society and the authorities used to be sharply divided on the usefulness and scope of reform. This time around its opponents are, although annoying, not in the forefront.

Third, everything that has been possible to achieve, particularly in the past few years, is our valuable achievement. The disturbances of recent times should not

obscure positive and objectively irreversible phenomena. The standard of economic awareness of society has increased considerably. Economic cadres capable of operating under conditions of reform are increasingly numerous. The framework of socialist democracy has been extended in an unprecedented manner. New and important institutions of public life have been strengthened.

Fourth, thanks to the developed processes of renewal, every success of ours along the road of destabilizing [as heard] socialism is a contribution to the historical changes or our whole formation. But every failure provides an argument for the supporters of antiquated forms and contents.

Fifth, after a period of clashes and conflicts there is now an outline of a new formula for permanent and constructive arrangement of the relations between the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church. This is in fact a considerably advanced attempt to make real a historical compromise. Its significance far outreaches the borders of Poland.

Sixth, Polish-Soviet relations are better than ever. This is a matter of enormous significance. This is the possibility of significantly strengthening political and economic bonds with the friendly socialist power on fully partnerlike foundations and overcoming once and for all the burdens of the complicated past.

Finally, seventh, the progress already achieved in East-West relations has created the best chance since 1918 to articulate our national interests without the need to flow against the current of history. A stable and secure socialist Poland in the heart of Europe can become a strong pillar of the European house, one of the bridges between East and West. This is our working capital, our great hope and chance. Are we able to take advantage of it in full? Have we all drawn lessons from the bitter experience of our history? Today there are reasons to answer this question in the affirmative. One of the fundamental conditions to remove the dangers and take advantage of the chances is the national agreement.

The announcement of the roundtable meeting was a surprise for many, but mainly a surprise for those who did not listen carefully to declarations made since 1980 on the will for agreement, or for those who considered them just empty words. Allow me to recall that on 30 October 1981 from the same lofty rostrum I made a proposal to establish the Council of National Agreement. The well-known meeting [between Jaruzleski, Walesa, and Glemp] took place. We know how this initiative ended, and it was not due to a fault of the authorities. The bitter and difficult decision to introduce martial law was taken on behalf of national salvation. But it was also aimed at ensuring order and peace which are essential for the profound reconstruction of the economy, public institutions, and public life. Even today one can hear voices questioning the purpose of the extraordinary means taken then. On the other hand, questions arise whether the threats which were removed at that time will resurface. We reply: Without the steps which had to be taken on that December night, without all that has been initiated and achieved in the last 7 years, there would be no possibility of any roundtable.

At the same time we say: It is not weakness, it is bold political thinking, not desperate measures but determination which brought us to it. We have one past, one common and identical past. We shall not change it in order to jointly build the future—we all have to change. The profound reform of public institutions is an urgent and long-term task. We want to advance boldly, in a creative way, without dogmatic and sectarian resistance.

At the same time, however, we do not want to go forth blindly into a breakneck situation. We have burned ourselves on both counts.

Every idea and every initiative is precious today if they originate from patriotic concern. Let us be rid of narrow-mindedness. It is not important who is right; it is important whose reason will help resolve this or another problem. Construction of the new forms of agreement is a highly complex, one may say extremely delicate, task. Only solid and responsible participants can cope with it. We have had enough proof that it is easy to spoil and more difficult to rebuild. It must thus be our mutual concern for irresponsible actions, various excesses, and accomplished facts, not to disrupt, not to block and not to destroy the dialogue which is only just beginning.

Our stance is clear: Truth—yes; partnership—yes; criticism—yes; compromise—yes; but undermining the constitutional order, drawing from alien sources, demagogy, and pressure—no.

Everything can be discussed. There are no taboo subjects. But every debate must have its rational framework, so that it does not become a dialogue of the deaf or the turmoil of rowdy meetings [sejmiki]. This limit is laid down by reasons of state, vital interests of the socialist state calm, and the good of its citizens. No one will take this duty away from the state authorities. It is best to remember this in advance.

Regardless of the number of participants, one other supreme participant will sit at the roundtable: Poland. Our country's status tomorrow will depend on what we create today. And if we do not together forge the natural differences of thinking into unity of action, our descendants may assess us more harshly than we today judge the sad heritage of the Saxon times.

May it please the House, many statements in the recent discussion have concerned the role of the Sejm, the strengthening of its control function in relation to the government, the tightening up of supervision over the preparations and implementation of acts and resolutions. Comments were also made about the functioning

of the ruling coalition. The PZPR highly values the allied cooperation with the ZSL and the SD. It has a long history in which there were distortions, too. We have drawn conclusions from them, but the need for unity invariably won. I believe that this will also be so now. It is even more worth recalling that in the past few years there has been a fundamental broadening of the essence of coalition itself. Moreover, in recent months, particularly after the party's seventh Central Committee plenum, new institutional forms have appeared, including those leading to greater cooperation in cadre policy. We want to go along this road to enrich the content and forms of cooperation. Not all possibilities have been fully exploited. The authentic nature and culture of partnership require more experiences, striving, and effort. More rights mean more responsibility. There will be no lack of this awareness in our party.

May it please the House, let us cast our minds back over the past weeks to the eighth plenum, to the work of the Extraordinary Commission, to the previous sitting of this chamber. It was an important turning point in the functioning of political mechanisms, a significant step on the road toward strengthening socialist democracy. A key point was the critical assessment of the results of the government's work and the acceptance of its resignation. It is our political and moral responsibility, while perceiving undoubtable mistakes and weaknesses, to remember also how difficult the internal and external circumstances were in which this government operated; how many of its intentions and efforts clashed with frequently mutually contradictory demands and expectations, reasons, and emotions. On top of this, what a terrible burden the debt and basically the discriminatory stance of some of our Western partners on economic cooperation with Poland were for it. The best intentions and honest effort of the premier and the Council of Ministers must be appreciated, including many valid concepts and decisions, actions and solutions, which the new government may take over and then speedily and effectively implement.

The developing model of political culture ought to enter permanently into the system of exercising power. Its indivisible part is respect for state activists who during a very difficult period assumed the burden of exercising executive power. With this thought in mind I wish, on behalf of the committee for liaison between the PZPR and the allied parties, to convey our thanks and best wishes for success in life and future work to Prof Zbigniew Messner. [applause]

Citizen deputies! In the past few years, in accordance with the intentions of the 9th and 10th Congresses important changes have been made in the relations between party and government. The time is gone when the party imposed detailed decisions and specific solutions. Thus, it cannot issue the government a kind of political insurance policy. This does not mean that we do not see any problems. On the contrary, it was pointed out at the seventh and eighth plenums that a more precise definition of the operating model of the party was essential. This work is continuing. It is obvious however, that the PZPR by virtue of its role, defined by history and the system of government, will not relinquish—like every party in authority—its influence over socioeconomic strategy. It has, therefore, the obligation not only to assess the results of the administration's actions, but also to demand of members of government designated by it that their activities agree with the interests of their fundamental social base.

Poland needs a strong, efficient government to carry out the program adopted with iron consistency. The success of our reforms depends on this. The country's future literally depends on it. The most important tasks facing the new cabinet are socioeconomic. Here too, the scale of difficulties is the greatest. I would like to express the belief that they will speedily make essential, well thought-out decisions and that they will become in the eyes of the public the embodiment of firm, courageous, and effective authority. It would be unrealistic to assume that society would accept the economy's restoration to health at the cost of further worsening living conditions.

The lack of market equilibrium is so profound and the level of inflation so high that to eliminate these phenomena unconventional steps are necessary. At least in the most sensitive areas, bridgeheads of equilibrium must urgently be built. For the new government team, meeting these challenges is the number one problem. We will not depart from the principles of social justice, from the great humanitarian achievements which the left, not the right; socialism, not capitalism, have contributed to history. Our socioeconomic formation must adapt to the changing conditions and demands of development while at the same time retaining its supreme value and long-term goals. From the first moments of People's Poland, they were the guiding light for the builders of the new system.

The state's concern for social security, for the defense of spiritual values against excessive commercialization, for interpersonal solidarity—these are fundamental ethical principles of socialism. They have not lost their value. We expect the new government to make important changes in economic policy; we expect priorities to be forced through in strategic solutions whose main goal is to improve living and working conditions. The most important issues today are food and housing. The initiative for drawing up and concluding a new social agreement could become an important premise of this.

At the same time, concern about today should not overshadow the thinking about tomorrow, the need to develop modern technologies, stopping of the degradation of the natural environment, and avoidance of a dangerous energy trap. We also expect greater effectiveness in the implementation of reform. The government cannot give anything away, but it has the duty to create conditions favorable to resolving problems, to abolish

difficulties, to open possiblities for unrestricted cooperation, trade, exchange. Removing limitations, legal and financial barriers—this is the simplest way to develop efficiency and enterpreneurship. We expect the new cabinet not to hesitate in taking advantage of the still existing special powers to attain further budget savings, to liquidate faster useless structures, to break down the mountain of red tape, to cut radically through the labrynth of regulations which restrict initiative. We also expect that by ensuring for itself the support of the citizens it will have a positive influence on the work of the whole administration and the social standing of its employees.

We expct the government to intensify efforts to carry out a comprehensive normalization of our financial relations abroad. Many countries in the West declare their liking for the Polish nation—it is high time for this to be confirmed by facts.

We expect the new government to strengthen in practice the theory of coalition activity in central and regional government; to act to promote the implementation of acts broadening the powers and material base of local authorities; and to be bolder in introducing young cadres. Particularly today it is vital to gain the confidence of young Poles. It is they who, after all, will reap the harvest from today's attitude—either the bitter harvest of bad emotions, or the fruits of commonsense, work, and perseverance.

So the list of expectations of the new government is very long. In order to satisfy them, it should have understanding and sufficiently broad social support. It will not be a government of miracle-workers. It could not fulfill the tasks set it in conditions of rising demands, incitement of unrest, and disruption of the country's life. We are counting on the new government to present the concept of a program that is clear and understandable to working people. We advocate that the premier nominated today should choose his cabinet members in the spotlight, with broad consultation with the allied parties, social and trade union organizations, with groups and people who enjoy the support of public opinion. It will thus be an open government. The particular moment in history means that as progress in national accord is made—also depending on the results of the roundtable—the Council of Ministers can be expanded to include representatives of other circles.

May it please the house, citizen deputies, authorized by the commission for liaison between the PZPR, the ZSL, and SD, by all signatories and the PRON National Council Presidium, I want to present to the chamber the candidacy of Citizen Deputy Mieczyslaw Rakowski for the office of chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

He is well known as a political and state activist of many years' standing. Experienced in government work, he held office of deputy premier for 5 difficult and eventful years. I greatly value my close cooperation with him in that period. He considerably expanded his experience in the economic sphere, chairing for 2 and ½ years the Socioeconomic Council as Sejm vice marshall. He is a man full of energy, initiative, and courage in seeking new solutions; a determined advocate of dialogue and of democratic reforms. He has provided numerous proofs of this in his many years of poltiical and press activity. His article entitled "Respecting the Partner," published in January 1981, was particularly eloquent. As chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs he undertook numerous efforts to aid agreement. At the same time, he never hesitated to stand in defense of the primary values of the socialist state. I express the conviction that Deputy Mieczyslaw Rakowski's appointment to the office of premier of the PPR by the esteemed house will be a fruitful decision for the country.

In recent years, our nation has walked a difficult road. I want to express the deepest respect for all those citizens who have spared no effort for the fatherland, as has happened so often in our history, despite everything, against all odds and in face of adversity.

Every Pole has the right to ask if things will now be better, if these changes really do herald better times, hope, and confidence in the future for Poland. There can be only one answer: Poland will be what we make it ourselves. [applause]

Rakowski on Coalition Government

LD2709114188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1043 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, after being elected by the Sejm as chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the House, I thank the Sejm for the trust shown in me. I hope that I will be able to increase this credit and not squander it. I will strive persistently to do so. I thank my comrades from the PZPR parliamentary group, my colleagues from the ZSL parliamentary group, from the SD parliamentary group, and nonparty deputies, who voted in favor of entrusting me with the mission of forming a government. I also understand those deputies who voted against me or who abstained. The country's situation would need a hero, a savior, to head the government. I am not one. I promise, however, to strive with persistence and determination to introduce without delay or hesitation the political and economic reforms drafted by the last plenary meeting of the supreme authorities of the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD, listening carefully to the opinions of the OPZZ and the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and the desires of various social and political groups.

The new government will consider as its first task to gain the confidence of a significant part of society, realizing that this can be done not by words but only by deeds. I know that there is no more time to lose. Nevertheless, I

would ask the citizen deputies to give me 2 weeks to draw up the composition of the Council of Ministers, which I will submit to the Sejm, and to draft a program of action. I have not mounted this rostrum with a government list ready just to be taken out of my pocket, or with generalities, saying that the new government will do the best for everyone.

I would like to draw up the government, which I will be proposing based on talks with many candidates, after getting to know their ideas and making sure of their reforming zeal. I also intend to use this time to get to know the opinions of various circles about the citizens, to whom I will propose participation in the government and about the priority targets at which we should be aiming. An outline government program of action will emerge from the talks and consultations. I do not want to relinquish the hope that I will be able to propose to the house a coalition government, based on broader political representation than to date.

We are told: Move over, let others take part in the real joint governing. I wish nothing other than to fulfill this demand. We will see if it will be possible to build on the platform of reforms a cabinet that has broader than hitherto political foundations and the sufficiently broadened confidence of society. Today I can say no more. Thank you once again. [applause]

Rakowski Interviewed After Election

LD2709135588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Interview by Polish radio reporters with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on 27 September; place not given; all reporters unidentified—recorded]

[Text] Following his election to the post of premier, Mieczyslaw Rakowski spoke to Polish Radio reporters.

[Begin recording]

[Reporter] Congratulations on your election, but I think difficult tasks are ahead of you.

[Rakowski] Certainly, that is obvious.

[Reporter] It was said here that you will have insurance from the party.

[Rakowski] No, this is not exactly what was said, there will be some insurance no doubt because I am a party member...

[Reporter] [Passage indistinct]

[Rakowski] ...in the whole society, whole society including party members.

[Reporter] Are you nervous?

[Rakowski] No, I am not feeling nervous. I feel some fear of what is ahead of me.

[Reporter] Will there be somebody from the opposition in the new government?

[Rakowski] It is difficult to say.

[Reporter] I am addressing you still as Mr Speaker, after many years of cooperation here in the Sejm. Was the result of the voting satisfying for you?

[Rakowski] Yes it was.

[Reporter] This is nice for a beginning.

[Rakowski] It was already nice for me yesterday, at the Central Committee, where everybody voted in favor of entrusting me with this mission.

[Reporter] Will your experience on the Socioeconomic Council of the Sejm be of any use now?

[Rakowski] Yes, of course, every bit of public or political activity brings new experiences, the Socioeconomic Council, for instance, helped me greatly in understanding economic issues.

[Reporter] What experience of the previous government, Mr Premier, will you want to use?

[Rakowski] All the good ones. [end recording]

Miodowicz Speaks at 19 Sep Sejm Session

AU2609181888 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 88 pp 4, 5, 6

[Unattributed roundup describing speeches made from the floor by Sejm deputies at the 19th September Sejm Session: "The Deputies' Debate"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR: The deputy began by saying that he was speaking as a deputy and not as head of OPZZ, and that he was not delivering a speech that had been agreed with trade union organizations beforehand. He said that he had carefully listened to the speech delivered by the premier and he wondered whether it was possible to perform the role of leader within the state and bear only partial responsibility.

He recalled that the first point of contention between the trade unions and the government was the inability to solve a cardinal issue, that of collective labor agreements, which are, after all, the trade unions' constitution. Everything appeared to have been agreed upon with the government, but then what happened was that the government overturned everything with one act. As a result, we do not have any collective agreements, but wage chaos instead. The government used bureaucratic

means to regulate wages, such as the 12-percent tax threshold, instead of introducing effective economic regulatory measures, as is done elsewhere in the world.

The government's sluggishness has exacerbated public feeling. After all, the first strikes did not in any sense have a political character. For example, at the Lenin steelworks it was only after the second day of the strike that the decision was taken to reduce the tax threshold, which is something that the plant director had called for a long time.

The trade unions encouraged people to take part in the referendum but did not tell them what to vote for. We were convinced that the first option was unacceptable, especially in view of our society's sensitivity with respect to prices. The failure to prepare an alternative option indicates that the government considers itself infallible.

Let us assume that the government's resignation is accepted. What is going to happen next? Are we to wait all month for a new government? I suggest that everything be speeded up and that the Sejm meet in a few days time to appoint a new premier and a new government that would include experts.

We surely do not fully appreciate the historic significance of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It was the plenum and not the trade unions that got the ball rolling. It raised the question of personal responsibility.

We have to sit down at the roundtable and talk. However, we have to talk in a competent fashion. If someone has never spent a day of his life working in a factory, then he should not speak about trade unions. Let us give working people, the workers, an opportunity to speak about their own affairs. They themselves should speak on the subject of trade union pluralism. [passage omitted]

PZPR, ZSL, SD 19 Sep Sejm Speeches Noted

AU2609163088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep pp 1, 4, 5

[Report by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk, Wanda Zagawa, and Jerzy Sieradzinski on the 19 September PPR Sejm Session: "The PPR Sejm Meets"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Deputy Jozef Barecki spoke on behalf of the PZPR Sejm Deputies Club. He said: "The implementation of the provisions of the second stage of the reform and the social situation connected with it were on the agenda of the eighth PZPR Central Committee plenum. The plenum decided that an appraisal of government activity was to be conducted by the Sejm and by the Extraordinary Commission that it had set up. Thus, it was to be conducted by a recognized parliamentary forum.

"We know that the Sejm approved the modified provisions of the second stage of the reform, but on many occasions it expressed criticism of the results that were being obtained and the way in which the provisions were being put into practice. The report that was submitted by the commission today indicates that the government failed to consistently implement recommendations made by the Sejm, did not review economic mechanisms that were not functioning properly, and, in particular, did not prevent the prices and incomes operation from getting out of control. The Sejm PZPR Deputies Club gives its full approval to this appraisal and to the suggestions that it contains concerning the need to conduct extensive personnel changes in the composition of the government.

"The Extraordinary Commission's work was primarily focused on analyzing the reasons for the dramatic way in which the situation has evolved. This does not mean that we do not appreciate the extraordinarily difficult economic and social conditions under which the government had to work. An objective appraisal of the government's work must take into account the achievements of which the premier spoke in his address. These achievements, although they were not consistent, smoothed the way for the reform, improved the work of the state administration, and led to the expansion of our cooperation with other countries.

"I think that this should be remembered in the light of the government's decision to tender its resignation in response to public criticism and to assume responsibility for the current situation.

"Our session has been preceded by a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. At that meeting it was stated that the reform—the general concept that was evolved within the framework of the second stage—is essential for the modernization of our economy and lies in the interests of working people in their deepest sense. In view of the situation that has arisen, the eighth plenum decided that the most urgent tasks at the present time are improving the supply of goods to the marketplace and effecting a tangible reduction in inflation.

"The Central Committee Plenum also proposed that a 2-year plan for the consolidation of the economy should be drawn up, which, once implemented, would bring about a permanent improvement in the state of the economy. The bitter experiences of the last few months provide an additional argument for the need to formulate an economic policy that is clear and easily understood, and accepted by society. The government has published draft provisions for a plan of this kind. This is a step in the right direction. What the plan does, above all, is to break with the antimarket and anti-incentive nature of current economic policy. The attainment of economic stability, that is, finding a solution to our key

problem, does not depend on forcing through price increases—and practice has shown that this hits the weakest first and foremost—but on a genuine restructuring of the economy."

"In the light of this, the provisions that talk about getting inflation under control, strengthening our currency, and introducing stability into living conditions carry a lot of weight. The plan's draft provisions reveal an important truth. There have been no easy solutions in the past, there are no such solutions today, and there will be none in the future. The same difficult external conditions will remain—the need to repay our debts and the obstacles that we encounter in conducting foreign trade. Every government team will have this hanging over it. The premier was right when he said that governments depart, but the problems remain. Nevertheless, there is perhaps one comment that should be added. That is, that our difficulties, the problems that have to be solved, have piled up. However, these problems must be solved by society. The economy poses the greatest challenge that our nation faces. To meet this challenge, there has to be a radical acceleration of the reform and, at the same time, the reform has to be supported by profound changes in the system of government. In particular, there must be an expansion of the underlying structure of government, and a condition for this is further progress in achieving national accord.

"In putting forward the idea of a plan for the consolidation of the economy, our party also proposed that a broad, reform-oriented coalition be established. The talks concerning a roundtable meeting may, although they do not have to, lead to the creation of a coalition of this kind.

"We have reached an important point in our recent history, an important point in terms of shaping the Polish model of socialist democracy—a model that will accommodate recognition of the political implications of diverse interests, views, and orientations. In its work in the Sejm, the PZPR Deputies Club will seek to implement the bold reform ideas initiated by our party."

The position of the ZSL Deputies Club was set out by Boleslaw Struzek: "It is essential to introduce a shift in economic policy that would ensure that long- and short-term goals are combined more effectively. The reform cannot be unproductive, it must produce immediate results that are felt by society.

"It has been noted by one deputy that one of the causes for the lack of success of the reforms is the poor sociopolitical condition of the country. There are socioeconomic barriers that present an obstacle. There is also a failure to attach sufficient importance to real conflicts of interest, which warp the process of reform quite significantly. They are particularly keenly felt in areas such as wages, prices, attitudes toward subsidies and tax benefits, and the negotiating of sector and branch privileges.

"Although the government has been working very intensely, the lack of visible and tangible results and, moreover, a worsening of the situation in many areas, has seriously undermined confidence in the government. The complexity of the current situation and the enormous number of difficult tasks that exist call for a fundamental reorganization of the government and the way in which it operates. The Third ZSL Plenum advocated a solution of this kind and stated that it is necessary to introduce resolute changes in the system of government that should take the form of separating the competence and responsibility of political parties from that of representative organs, as well as that of the state and economic administrations.

"It was submitted that the coalition of broad patriotic forces should be expanded and strengthened, and that this should be reflected in a reorganized government, the Sejm, and all the structures that exist in our state.

"The ZSL Deputies' Club shares the position of the Extraordinary Commission with respect to the overall form of social and economic policy for the next 2 years. Comprehensive actions aimed at achieving economic stability and restructuring the economy should be deemed a key task. This should also include the creation of conditions that would be favorable to the development of agriculture and the food economy.

"Over the last few months, the agricultural produce market, which has been relatively stable for a number of years, has been very unsettled. During the second quarter of this year, demand for mineral fertilizers fell by one quarter, because of drastic price increases. Demand for pesticides has fallen for the same reason. Extensive methods of agricultural production are becoming more widespread."

"The fact that almost one third of individual farms have given up rearing livestock calls for resolute counteraction. At the last ZSL plenum there were calls for increased investment to accelerate the expansion of the agro-food industry and industries that produce inputs into agriculture, for the attainment of income parity within 2 years, for an end to the monopoly in the agricultural produce market, the abandonment of the rationing of production inputs, and observance of the principle of honoring the full sovereignty of peasants' social, occupational, and cooperative organizations.

"It is with great satisfaction that I would like to state that our position on these issues is convergent with that of the trade union activists grouped together in the OPZZ and the activists of the National Union of Farmers, and Agricultural Circles and Organizations. Eliminating the danger to agricultural production and to the supply of foodstuffs should be considered one of our most important tasks.

"The ZSL Deputies Club acknowledges your statement and your offer to resign, and expresses great respect for you personally and for the entire government. I think that this is an unprecedented event in our postwar parliamentary history, and that it also shows that the highest interests prevail. The deputies club leaves the question of how to respond to your statement up to each individual deputy that belongs to it."

Speaking on behalf of the SD Deputies Club, Ryszard Tomczewski said: "The worst thing is that confidence in the authorities is declining at an alarming rate, although confidence is the basic political condition of our system. What is disturbing is the discrepancy between promises and assurances and the actual practice, which is marked by inefficiency, waste, and the neglect of responsibilities. In view of the lack of consistency and the abandoning of implementation activities, the statements made by leading representatives of our political and economic life have lost credibility. A never-ending list of problems could be submitted at a roundtable discussion to assist the selection of goals and intentions and the paths leading to their attainment.

"I think that a roundtable is the very thing that would allow representatives of various groups to make a contribution to solving the most important problems facing Poland and the Poles. The SD has proposed many solutions to fundamental problems in economic policy and in policy as a whole. It did so at the 12th and 13th congresses and at successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee."

"Poland still has a dualism, comprising centers where discretion is exercised and centers of actual authority. For years the SD has been advocating the implementation of the principle of the indirect exercise of power by political parties. There is extensive support for this view. Unfortunately, this principle is not implemented in practice. This idea has to be sanctioned by legislation. The granting of preferential cadre status in practice arouses bitterness, especially among young people. People who have failed to prove themselves in responsible posts reappear in the political establishment.

"Political reform is meant to create a qualitatively new foundation for important future institutional solutions. The basic feature of this qualitative change is a new attitude on the part of the authorities and society, that is, on the part of the state organs with respect to the people, who are viewed as enjoying sovereignty.

"The qualitatively new situation cannot omit the area of the coalition-like nature of authority in Poland. It is primarily a question of two things—an appropriate degree of sovereignty on the part of all members of the coalition and their freedom of action in public life. This is linked to the need for profound changes in the electoral code.

"We want to start consolidating all political and social forces in Poland and to arouse hopes that it will be possible to get out of the crisis through an effort on the part of all of society.

"This means that all actions have to be genuine. We really have to begin to reorganize the economy and to support those sectors of the economy that can produce tangible results rapidly.

"Official policy is receptive toward the individual economy. It is essential that legislation be introduced that guarantees the existence of this sector and the lasting nature of cooperatives and the nonagricultural individual economy in Poland's economic system.

"In political and economic life it is necessary to think in terms of the nation and political parties, and the economic leadership must take action that will command universal public support. The draft resolution submitted to the honorable chamber outlines a course of this kind. It also contains a proposal stating that profound changes in the government are essential.

"The SD Deputies Club considers the resignation of the government to represent the implementation of this proposal in practice." [passage omitted]

Sejm Economic Reform Group 19 Sep Report Cited

AU2609111688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 88 p 3

[Report by the Sejm Extraordinary Commission for Controlling the Implementation of the Economic Reform, read by its chairman, Sejm Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jedroszka, at the 19 September Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] On 22 August, the Sejm Presidium submitted to the Extraordinary Commission for Controlling the Implementation of the Economic Reform a government report on the use of the Council of Ministers's special powers.

The tense socioeconomic situation and loudly-expressed dissatisfaction, resulting in what could be described as a public repetition of this commission's assessment of the economic situation, have made it necessary for this commission to take a broader look at the use of these special powers during the implementation of the second stage of the reform. In any case, the preamble to the 11 May 1988 law on special powers for the Council of Ministers clearly says that these powers were granted to the Council of Ministers in order to protect the work and standard of living of citizens; to overcome obstacles to the reform, including excessive price increases and other signs of inflation; and to guarantee an interconnection between wages and productivity. These powers, we read in the preamble, are meant to create the right conditions for implementing the reforms and, in particular, to fully

implement the program of the reform's second stage, to restore market equilibrium, including a rise in market production; to accelerate the restructuring of the economy; to develop economic initiative, expand competition, counteract monopolist practices, and make economic mechanisms more efficient.

An assessment of the use of these special powers during the first 3 months of 1988 was foreseen in the commission's work plan for the second half of September. However, as a result of the exceptional socioeconomic situation, the commission had to speed up its work considerably, which meant that experts had less time to prepare their assessments.

In accordance with the commission's work program, commission members are working in four teams concentrating on different problems: a team for economic policy and restructuring, a team for market equilibrium, a team for economic and financial matters in enterprises, and a team for adapting legislation to the economic reform. The teams commenced their work as soon as the commission received the government report. At the commission's first meeting on 31 August and 1 September, and following the speeches of Premier Zbigniew Messner, Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, and Supreme Chamber of Control Chairman Tadeusz Hupalowski, the chairmen of the individual teams presented a preliminary critical assessment of the activity reported by the government from the point of view of its effectiveness under the present socioeconomic situation. Among the invited experts who presented their views were: Dr Aleksander Lukasiewicz, chairman of the team of Sejm advisors; and Professors Zdzislaw Fedorowicz, Tomasz Afeltowcz, and Marek Wierzbowski. The commission also heard an OPZZ opinion read by its deputy chairman, Waclaw Martyniuk.

The second day of the session consisted of a debate by deputies and government replies to the remarks that had been made. The commission's presidium decided to postpone the deadine for final assessments by the individual teams so as to take into account the resolutions of the eighth PZPR and third ZSL plenums and the opinion of the Sejm Socioeconomic Council.

The commission also examined remarks and criticism sent to the commission itself and to the Sejm, the Letters and Complaints Commission, and Constitutional Tribunal by various institutions, enterprises, and individuals. Further opinions were requested from experts, including people who have criticized the implementation of the economic reform for years, and it is a pity that not all the experts accepted our invitation to speak. At its 9 September session, the commission heard the views of Professors Stanislaw Kuzinski, Augustyn Wos, Jozef Pajestki, Jozef Kaleta, Karol Sobczak, and Andrzej Sopocko, following which the "public" part of the session ended and the work of the teams began. When this work was over, and following many hours of debate, we issued a final assessment by the commission at our 14 September session, and it is this assessment which I have the duty to present to the esteemed chamber.

The Sejm has fully approved of the three primary objectives contained in the program of implementing the second stage of the reform, namely:

1. Balancing the economy by encouraging a growth in supply;

2. Balancing the economy by strengthening the zloty, restructuring prices and incomes, and adjusting economic parameters; and

3. Restructuring the system of economic incentives; however, the Sejm did find that the detailed program for attaining these objectives contained many inaccuracies and stressed the need to define tasks more clearly.

In its 11 February resolution, the Sejm said that the market should be balanced chiefly by accelerating and expanding competition in market supplies, not just by pushing up prices. The Sejm said that the following were essential in order to attain this objective:

—The working out of comprehensible and infallible legal-economic regulations and rational rules on managing and leading the country;

—The creation of a comprehensive program of rationalizing and modernizing the structure of the market;

—Involving society to a greater degree in implementing the reform.

According to the Sejm, only if these conditions are fulfilled can market equilibrium be achieved and economic mechanisms be stabilized. As a result of these actions, one may expect a permanent rise in the standard of living and a capability to settle Poland's foreign debts. Approving the reform paths aimed at strengthening the zloty and balancing the market, the Sejm pointed out that the most urgent task is to work out a way of keeping the market under control without the risk of uncontrolled inflation, which may happen after every price increase. An increase in the number of goods covered by contractual prices must be accompanied by more stringent financial regulations, which should provide a safeguard against inflation. The Sejm is also in favor of changes to taxation policy so as to encourage an expansion of enterprises and to induce people to be more energetic in their professional work. The Sejm considered an expansion of workers self-management bodies and a greater involvement thereof in the work of enterprises to be an essential condition for the success of the economic reform.

Approving the modified program for implementing the second stage of the economic reform, the Sejm stressed at the same time that the program presents an opportunity to adapt financial, economic, and organizational legislation to the objectives of the country's socioeconomic development. Total commitment by all working people is the condition necessary in order to use this possibility. The second stage of the reform should improve the methods and principles of good management and improve economic results, provided that a program for rationalizing and modernizing the structure of the national economy is prepared.

We realize the difficulty of the government's objectives at a time of a deregulated market and foreign debts. No doubt this is the reason why despite the punctual discharge of planned undertakings, results are still hardly visible and society's impatience is constantly greater.

We began to implement the program of the second stage of the reform in the last months of 1987 by restructuring central institutions. These changes were chiefly organizational ones. However, the prices and incomes operation failed. Economic decisions always involve risk, and one has to remember this. Even so, there was no idea of how to keep wages under control following the radical price increases, and an inability to control wages and prices makes itself obvious. Already in the first few months of 1988, inflation rose above the planned level and disequilibrium occurred on the consumer, supply, and investment markets. This shows that the mechanisms of controlling the economy were inadequate. Demands for wage increases to compensate for the higher prices appeared, and yet at the same time there was a tendency to make economic mechanisms more liberal.

In its 12 July resolution on the market and financial situation, the Sejm considered the following phenomena to be the most unfavorable ones:

—A major unforeseen excess of people's incomes over their expenditures during the first 5 months of this year;

—A rapid rise in people's spending power following a drop in supplies to the shops;

—A reduced willingness to put money aside because of the low interest rates on savings, higher inflation, and reduced purchasing power of money;

—People's decreased confidence in the zloty and their preference to put their savings in the form of foreign currency;

—The continuing central budget deficit, accompanied by an increase in the liquid assets of enterprises;

—Negative results caused by a slow reduction in the number of goods covered by official prices;

—A widening of the disproportion between the wages of those in the budgetary sphere and those in the material sphere, as a result of the above-plan wage rises for those in the material sphere.

Numerous irregularities have occurred in the process of implementing the reform so far. This has made some economic circles believe one can ignore economic principles and the country's economic reality. That is why, on 11 May, it was decided to equip the Council of Ministers with special powers in order to overcome bureaucratic barriers and old habits, and to consolidate pro-reform undertakings. Granting these powers, the Sejm obliged the government in its 11 May resolution to act more decisively and react more quickly to emerging difficulties and dangers, and to protect society more effectively against temporary hardships caused by the reform.

The negative economic trends we have been observing since the beginning of 1988 are contrary to the basic goals of the second stage of the reform. The exacerbation of market and financial disequilibrium at a time when the government already has the special powers at its disposal spoils the effectiveness of all efforts to reform the economy. Particularly dangerous is simultaneous disequilibrium and high inflation, which paralyzes the economic reform mechanisms and decreases society's support for the reform. The collapse of the consumer market because of a failure to keep prices and wages in control is felt particularly keenly by society. As a result, stocks in trade outlets have fallen. A lack of major improvements to agricultural and market production was also a major factor in the collapse of the consumer market. We observe a collapse of people's confidence in the zloty, a reluctance to save (because interest rates fail to keep up with inflation), and an increase in purchases of durable goods as a way of investing one's money. The disequilibrium on the supply market has increased. Also on the investments market we observe a failure to observe basic proportions, for example the size of investment plans has been exceeded and outlay on construction and refurbishing is greater than planned. The shorter period of time taken to complete projects, revealed in the statistics, is due to the fact that there is an increased number of minor projects which only take a short time to complete. A considerable proportion of investment resources have been frozen and the inflation gap on the investments market has widened, which has increased the disequilibrium of this market even more. All this has occurred at a time when more investments are needed for the sake of food and market production and when agriculture and the food economy should be turned into a national industry.

We also observe a deterioration in proportions between wages in the budgetary sphere and those in the material sphere, as well as between wages in cities and wages in urban areas. A real economic restructuring is of paramount importance for the success of the reform. There has been talk of the need to restructure for a long time; a

restructuring fund was set up in 1987. Nevertheless, the government has not presented any full concept of restructuring to this very day. To this very day, the Polish economy is based on the traditional raw material, extracting, and heavy industries, whereas elsewhere in the world economies have been geared to the processing industries. As a result, the Polish economy is marked by a high degree of material and fuel consumption and high transport costs, because of which there is a major deployment of factors of production without any desired effects on the market and on export figures.

Recently we have also noted that the conditions under which enterprises perform have deteriorated. This is a result of:

— The multitude, changeability, and lack of clarity of various laws, and of the frequent changes in the "rules of the game" during the economic year, which greatly affects fiscal achievements of enterprises and makes it impossible to run the economy and long-term development policy as planned;

—The defective taxation system, which is primarily concerned with collecting taxes and which provides almost no motivation for better performance.

The need for rapid changes in the taxation system was already stressed during consultations concerning the implementation program for the second stage of the economic reform. This need was also stressed by the Sejm report dated February 1988 and by the report on the fiscal law which was compiled by the Legislative Council. The high level of taxation is caused by the extended system of subsidies. That is why radical changes in taxation and subsidies must be our primary task.

Fiscal snarls in enterprises have been an especially painful phenomenon in recent times. Because plants are unpunctual in supplying contractors with materials, contractors' indebtedness vis-a-vis their creditors continues to increase. Debts outstrip the amount of turnover credits, which means that the credit policy of the Polish National Bank is not flexible enough and that the systems by which enterprises settle their accounts with other enterprises is not effective enough. That is why enterprises tend to use trading credits (mutual loans between enterprises). The Commission for Controlling the Implementation of the Economic Reform wrote about this matter to the minister of finance and to the Polish National Bank last May and sent a statement to this effect to the premier last July. But measures to resolve these fiscal snarls were taken only after the eighth plenum. The absence of motivational solutions for workers is a defect in the performance of enterprises. Fiscal policy suffers from too many safeguards that are independent of work results. There is still a lack of wage systems that tie wages to work results, a scheme that continues to pass its test in collective work systems.

We should consider whether changes in the system of ownership would benefit the reform. Such changes would take the property of state enterprises out of national ownership. This would make workers' wages and incomes directly and strongly dependent on the success of the enterprise as a whole and would provide a starting point for radically changing the fiscal system of state enterprises.

Enterprises are being especially afflicted by disorganized supplies and cooperation. Efforts to eliminate the costly price formula, which is antiproductive, are lacking, and enterprises are still hardly able to promote scientific-technological progress.

Progress in improving the quality of work is still insufficient everywhere, and that is why products are deficient and our scant materials and energy continue to be wasted. Legal enactments are also of low quality. Our legal subcommission is very critical of the economic law, especially of the fiscal law, which, as the Legislative Council reports continues to deteriorate insofar as the enterprises' fiscal law and taxation systems are concerned. That is why the law is becoming a brake on effective activities. We are concerned about the quality of legal enactments. The government decrees on the countervailing tax or the tax on overtime are so vague that it was necessary to attach to them explanations that are much more voluminous than the decrees themselves. These explanations were published late—some of them last May—although the decrees came into force on 1 January 1988. People consider those taxes as a brake on individual initiative and enterprise, which are supposed to be the basic principles of the reform. The quality of new government bills show that the standards of legislative services are still inadequate. It is obvious that without good legislative services in the supreme administrative bodies it is impossible to create a transparent, clear, logical, and stable system of economic law.

Special powers enable the government to merge, divide, and eliminate enterprises. This is necessary, but our commission is critical of the way those actions are performed. Government reports show that technical-economic analyses to establish not only administrative criteria for decisions, but also criteria of effectiveness, are not carried out. The many letters received by the commission from enterprises show that mergers or divisions are decided "at the desk" without any economic analyses even of talks with the enterprises concerned.

Transfers of enterprises to local bodies should be done on the basis of economic criteria, and only especially important enterprises should be run by central bodies.

Appraising the 1988 socioeconomic situation, one can say that the government's special powers have not helped to tangibly accelerate the second stage of the economic reform, although it has been previously possible to take

the measures that are now being considered under the plan for consolidating the economy. The commission states (as the Socioeconomic Council does) that in the past few months:

—General economic balance has deteriorated in many sectors, causing social discontent;

—Inflation continues to intensify, weakening incentives to better economic management;

—The dependence of wages on true work results has greatly deteriorated in recent months;

—Bureaucratic formulas of taxation continue to weaken reform mechanisms and excessive fiscal commitments caused by subsidies makes it difficult to increase the effectiveness of enterprises;

—The technical and other quality of products continues to deteriorate, and this helps to lower our living standards;

—People continue to be increasingly convinced that wage increases are losing their value and are less and less dependent on productivity; this boosts social frustration and disbelief in the reform mechanisms;

—The increasing divergence between the principles of reform and their implementation continue to cause discontent in enterprises, to increase disbelief in the effectiveness of the reform, and, consequently, to deteriorate economic management;

—The lowering of farm production profitability is especially dangerous and has been caused primarily by the prices of farm production equipment, which outstrip the farm produce prices. As a result, farmers continue to restrict their production, especially cattle breeding, and thus to reduce supplies of farm produce;

—There are still no improvements in the housing situation, which increases the discontent of people, especially young people;

All this make people doubt whether the economic authorities and the bodies responsible for feeble progress in the economic reform will be able to effectively implement the reforms.

Recent unrest and drastic expressions of people's discontent continues to increase the general doubt, also shared by the OPZZ, whether the present government, which has lost people's trust to a considerable extent, is able to continue to effectively reform the economy without this trust. The Commission takes the view that the present failures in reforming the economy make it now necessary to make the reform program credible and to ensure the credibility of the individuals who are to carry out radical economic and social reforms. Given the present economic conditions, it would be very dangerous to focus efforts on only some spectacular activities. That is why this commission thinks that:

—It is necessary to make profound changes in the government, to expand its coalition character, and to include in it those competent experts in individual fields of the economy who have long been critical of the realization of the economic reform. The commission thinks that this would help society to again have trust in the performance of the government centers; the roundtable talks should be held on these lines;

—It is also necessary to make changes in economic management and to modify the present instruments of influence at the top and in the field;

—It is necessary to clearly delineate the relation between the powers and responsibilities of the center of political power, on the one hand, and those of the center of economic power, on the other.

Party Commission Examines Consolidation Plan

AU2609144888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Sep 88 p 3

[PAP headline: "The Position of the PZPR Central Committee Commission for Economic Policy, Economic Reform, and Workers Self-Management on the Draft Plan for Consolidating the National Economy"]

[Text] 1. On 23 September the commission examined the two drafts of the principles of the plan for consolidating the national economy. In line with the eighth plenum resolution, the drafts were prepared by a team appointed by the premier and by the Central Committee's socioeconomic echelons assisted by social teams.

2. The commission notes that the alternative drafts offer more solutions and more opportunities for selecting correct solutions. The two versions of the plan to consolidate the national economy provide for a radical change in the direction of present economic policy and for a profound transformation of the principles of economic performance and institutional solutions. The two versions respond to the economy's development needs and to social expectations. In particular, this concerns improving our living conditions, radically overcoming inflation, strengthening our currency, making a breakthrough in housing construction, and decisively streamlining services for the population.

3. The commission takes the view that, in contrast to present policy, the primary aim of the consolidation plan should be taking every possible action to boost the flow of goods and services to marketplaces, including actions such as:

—Accelerating the restructuring of the national economy;

—Rejecting radical changes in prices and incomes;

—Strengthening the role of currency and rapidly creating conditions for the performance of market mechanisms.

4. Some of the proposed solutions are alternative in nature, which is especially true of:

—The character of the consolidation plan and of the period of its validity: The commission thinks that the plan should be a binding document adopted by the Sejm together with special powers for the government for the period which it takes to implement the plan, that is, for 2 years;

—Price policy: The commission thinks that it is desirable to abandon the formula of fixing prices in line with costs and to regard prices as an external indicator for producers; the fixing of official and contracted prices should be adjusted to the extent to which the market is balanced and monopolized;

—Wage-income policy: The commission is in favor of simplifying institutional solutions applying to wages for production work and of tying wages to economic results of enterprises and takes the view that the mechanical settlement of wages in the budget should be abandoned and that increases in pensions should be based on true increases in living costs.

5. The commission thinks that it is necessary for the teams of the commission for economic policy and social reforms to finally formulate the principles of the consolidation plan and that within 14 days these teams should present in-depth evaluations and proposals on the issues that are now especially controversial.

The theses contained in the two alternative drafts should be the basis of further work, during which detailed proposals submitted at the commission's sessions should be taken into consideration. In addition, alternative solutions should be presented wherever necessary.

6. In presenting the plan we should regard the rules contained in the party document as more comprehensible.

The commission stresses the special role of informative and explanatory work in efforts to win social approval for the goals and lines of the consolidation plan.

7. The commission thinks it desirable to inform the Central Committee about the present state of work on the plan to consolidate the national economy.

Ozdowski, Glemp Discuss National Accord

AU2609125688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The Primate of Poland's Meeting With the Sejm Vice Marshal"]

[Text] On 19 September, Sejm Vice Marshal Jerzy Ozdowski received Jozef, Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland.

The talk was on the subject of the objectives, conditions, and resources for national accord.

The primate indicated the Christian values of dialogue and accord in the fatherland.

J. Ozdowski presented new initiatives by lay Catholics in Poland.

Solidarity's Frasyniuk on Resolving Crisis

AU2609153188 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Sep 88 pp 168-169

[Interview with Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Solidarity leader in Breslaw, by unidentified SPIEGEL reporter: "Freedom Can Stimulate Immensely"; date and place not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Frasyniuk, after martial law was imposed 7 years ago, you were one of the most wanted public enemies in Poland. Now you have met with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, the highest-ranking policeman, at the negotiating table. Is the state power capitulating?

Frasyniuk: At present, there have been only preparatory talks for the negotiations between the government and the opposition that are planned for mid-October. The party and the government seem to have finally understood that it is impossible to come to an understanding with the people, without the Solidarity trade union. Only together, can we lead the country out of the economic and social crisis.

SPIEGEL: Who was present at the meeting?

Frasyniuk: Two Politburo members, Kiszczak and Ciosek, nine representatives of Solidarity, eight representatives of the OPZZ, one representative of the Democratic Party and one of the United Peasant Party, four professors, and two priests.

SPIEGEL: The professors and the priests were neutral arbiters?

Frasyniuk: Two of the professors held the opinion that Solidarity is a social fact and that not recognizing facts does not help. And the church has also adopted a clear position: It demands the legalization of Solidarity.

SPIEGEL: In the meantime, the government has resigned—an unprecedented event in the history of communism. Do you feel strengthened by this?

Frasyniuk: After all, this is the first time this has happened in an East Bloc country. This resignation also has a great psychological importance. The people have been able to convince themselves that organized criticism and pinpointed pressure from below can, indeed, help.

SPIEGEL: In his resignation speech before parliament, Premier Messner said: The government is resigning, but the problems remain. The crisis in Poland cannot simply be solved by more pressure from below.

Frasyniuk: True, far-reaching democratic reforms are the most important preconditions for being able to solve them. Interior Minister Kiszczak told us that the next government will also adhere to the course of national reconciliation.

SPIEGEL: But without the legalization of Solidarity that you demand?

Frasyniuk: Opinions differ widely on this question. The interior minister claims that the party basis and the officer cadres of the Army and the police are categorically against our legalization. One has to wait for some time and to implement the other parts of the reforms in the meantime so that the confused functionaries can grow accustomed to life under the conditions of political pluralism.

SPIEGEL: Do you think that this will happen, or is the party only trying to gain time?

Frasyniuk: If I were not convinced that our legalization is unavoidable, I would have long since given up my work in the trade union. You must not forget that what we are after is the long overdue recognition of an already existing social reality. Every day, all over Poland, more and more enterprise organizations of Solidarity are turning to open work from what has hitherto been illegal work, without taking into account legal bans or statements by the Warsaw party leadership. They are simply there, and everyone counts on them.

SPIEGEL: What are they doing in the enterprises?

Frasyniuk: They are struggling for a raise in the fixed wages, for better working conditions, and against the privileges of the enterprise nomenclatura, against privileges concerning the distribution of apartments or of places for therapeutic cures and vacations, for instance.

SPIEGEL: This goes against the official trade unions.

Frasyniuk: We are not in favor of abolishing the official trade unions. But we think that the workers themselves should decide where their interests are best cared for.

SPIEGEL: Would trade union pluralism make the Poles work better and longer?

Frasyniuk: The state power is aware of the disastrous economic situation. Interior Minister Kiszczak reads the reports of his confidants in the enterprises. And if those reports were not so depressing, the party would not negotiate with Lech Walesa and other colleagues from Solidarity.

SPIEGEL: Do you not fear that, if Solidarity were to participate in the state's responsibility, the powerlessness of the trade union would soon become clear?

Frasyniuk: Reforms can be implemented only if there is social cooperation on a broad basis. This cannot be achieved without the legalization of Solidarity. Only then will the people take seriously the state power's declared willingness to institute reforms and be ready for hard work, but also for material belt-tightening.

SPIEGEL: The economic disaster also has reasons other than the attitude of refusal on the part of many Poles: obsolete machinery, lack of spare parts, high foreign debts, and, last but not least, sloppy economic management. In detailed terms, what would Solidarity do against this?

Frasyniuk: Freedom and civil rights can have an immensely stimulating effect. The state leadership's talks with the opposition should lead to the formation of a government comprising knowledgable people who have authority and support among the people—also for unpopular decisions.

SPIEGEL: Should it also include ministers from the ranks of Solidarity?

Frasyniuk: We are a free trade union with self-management and a clear assignment to represent the working people's interests. We are already accused of concerning ourselves too much with politics.

SPIEGEL: But the Communists should have the majority in such a government?

Frasyniuk: The only criterion is the democratic support from the majority of the people. This excludes the current dogma, according to which the PZPR must have at least 51 percent of the seats in all state bodies.

SPIEGEL: Do you consider it possible that the Polish Communists will one day sit on the opposition bench?

Frasyniuk: I am sure of that.

Ciosek Calls Student Problems One Cause of Crisis

LD2509151188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] The pace of socioeconomic development, which for young people is insufficient to meet their expectations, and the lack of clear prospects are one of the causes of the present crisis in Poland, Stanislaw Ciosek stated at a meeting with activists of the Polish Student Association [ZSP] in Uniejow, where the third plenum of the ZSP Supreme Council is taking place. Stanislaw Ciosek also replied to questions on the present Polish situation as well as the significance of the planned roundtable meetings for its development.

Today participants of the meeting in Uniejow also met representatives of the Ministry of National Education. Matters concerning the material state help for students were discussed. In the ZSP's opinion, grants in aid have up to now been insufficient. The worsening material situation of students often forces them to begin paid work while still studying.

DPRK Army Chief of Staff on Official Visit

Received by Jaruzelski

LD2309095388 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—First Secretary of the PUWP CC and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski received on Thursday the visiting alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Korean Workers' Party CC and Chief of the General Staff of Korean People's Army Gen. Choe Kwang.

In the course of a cordial talk, while referring to the relations between the two states and their armed forces, the two pointed to the need to further make efforts in favour of strengthening peace worldwide and security on the Korean Peninsula.

The sides accentuated the importance of broadening comprehensive contacts between the two parties, states and nations.

The visitor conveyed to Wojciech Jaruzelski a message from leader of the Korean nation Kim Il-Song.

The talk was attended by chief of the general staff of the Polish Army, National Defence Vice-Minister Gen. Jozef Uzycki. Present was DPRK's ambassador to Poland Pak Sang-am.

Delegation's Activities Summed

LD2609201388 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 26—The delegation of the Korean People's Army ended its official friendly visit to this country at the invitation from chief of the general staff of the Polish Army Gen. Jozef Uzycki. The delegation was headed by alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Korean Workers' Party CC, chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army Choe Kwang.

Gen. Choe Kwang was decorated with the commandery with a star of the order of merit of people's Poland for his contribution to the consolidation of brotherhood-in-arms between the military forces of Poland and the DPRK, and to the strengthening of friendly relations between the two states. The other members of the DPRK delegation were also given decorations.

Gen. Choe Kwang was received by PUWP CC first secretary and supreme commander of Poland's armed forces Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, and by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and national defence minister Gen. Florian Siwicki.

Polish and Korean military delegations held talks to discuss the further strengthening of fraternal cooperation of the two armies.

The DPRK delegation paid tribute to the heroes of liberation struggles by laying flowers at the tomb to the unknown soldier and at the cemetery-mausoleum of the Soviet soldiers here. They also paid tribute to victims of the Nazi death camps in Auschwitz-Birkenau.

The Korean visitors went to the Headquarters of the Polish Navy and the Warsaw military region. They also visited two military units, the naval academy in Gdynia and the higher aviation school in Deblin.

E. Ceausescu Addresses Chemistry Congress

AU2609202488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

["Speech by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu" to the opening session of the Third National Chemistry Congress, on 21 September in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The Third National Chemistry Congress is an event of outstanding importance for all working people in the field of chemistry, who, just as our whole nation does, work with the utmost determination to commendably fulfill the plans and programs for socioeconomic development and the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the Party National Conference. This group also works to fulfill the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and ensure our homeland's progress toward communism.

At the opening of the proceedings of this great democratic forum of Romanian chemistry, I take particular pleasure in conveying warm greetings and best wishes to you, to all the participants in this congress, on behalf of the President of the SR of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the government, and the leadership of the National Council for Science and Education. (loud , prolonged applause)

In a spirit of the utmost exactingness and responsibility, the National Chemistry Congress will examine the current level of Romanian chemistry, the activity that has been carried out in the chemical industry and chemical research, and will establish the necessary measures aimed at implementing the programs for scientific organization and modernization. The Congress will also strive to improve efficiency and quality, with a view to more markedly increasing chemistry's contribution to the socioeconomic development of our homeland.

As is well known, during the years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, achievements of historical importance have been registered in developing production forces and raising the material and cultural standards of our people. From a poorly developed country, Romania has turned into an industrial-agrarian state with strong modern industry, based on the latest scientific and technological discoveries, whose progress in socialist agriculture is in full swing. We are also witnessing a great development of education, science, and culture, which are fundamental factors for the successful construction of socialism and for the comprehensive progress of the whole country.

Concurrently with the strong development of industry, chemistry has also displayed the highest rate in increasing production. During the years of socialist construction, particularly in the past 20 years, big industrial centers and combines have been built and dispersed in virtually all regions of the country. One can state that the Romanian chemical industry includes all modern sectors of chemistry and has an important place in the overall socioeconomic development of our homeland. Today, the Romanian chemical industry produces about 20 percent of the overall value of industrial commodity production, and to a large extent meets the requirements of the national economy of the whole country.

The great development of industry and of the Romanian economy—including the development of the chemical industry—is the result of the correct policy of our party, which has creatively applied the general laws and socialist principles and worked in complete accordance with the situation prevailing in our country.

We should particularly emphasize the efforts of the party after the Ninth RCP Congress to allocate about a third of the national income to the development fund. On this basis, we have been able to build large industrial—including chemical—centers and platforms and ensure the overall progress of our socialist homeland.

We have a strong chemical industry, which is capable of favorably meeting the current and future requirements of our homeland's socioeconomic development. The industry is also playing an increasing role in overall development and the process of continuously raising the material and cultural level of our people.

A particularly important role in socioeconomic development and the development of chemistry has been played by science and education which, during the years of socialism, have markedly developed and made a decisive contribution to the implementation of all socioeconomic development plans and programs. We can resolutely state that our achievements could not have been accomplished without a great development of education and scientific research in our homeland.

The National Chemistry Congress is taking place halfway through the Eighth 5-Year Plan, which should ensure the achievement of the strategic objectives set forth by the 13th RCP Congress. These objectives include Romania's transition to a new level of development, the achievement of new quality in the work and life of the people, and the passage to intensive development in all sectors of activity, on the basis of the latest discoveries of the scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution.

During the first half of the current 5-year plan, we have obtained important results in all sectors of activity. In particular, I would like to stress the continuous development of the chemical industry, the improvement and modernization of production, the increased quality and technical level, and the increase of profitability.

As was stressed at the Political Executive Committee meeting in the April Theses, we should concentrate all our efforts on the complete elimination of all shortfalls and negative states of affairs in order to unflinchingly

implement the programs for scientific organization and modernization of production, as well as the principles of self-management and self-administration in all sectors of activity, and to consistently fulfill the programs to ensure a great economic efficiency.

Esteemed comrades, proceeding from the current stage of Romanian chemistry, from our strong technical-material base, and from the potential of the thousands of working people, including the potential of scientific research and chemistry, the National Chemistry Congress should work out far-reaching guidelines for modernizing and perfecting production activity and research activity in chemistry, taking into account the requirements of the national economy and new scientific and technical discoveries.

We should make increasingly better use of our technical-material means and manpower, and thus increase current production capacities by at least 50 percent in the upcoming 3-4 years.

In this respect, we should most resolutely proceed to the implementation of the organization and modernization programs in all branches of chemistry. We should also work with utmost determination to work out and implement new technologies which should lead to a substantial reduction of material and energy consumption, ensure the appropriate utilization of raw materials, raise quality, and improve the physical and chemical features of all our products.

At the same time, we should devote greater attention to the scientific organization of enterprises and to increasing labor productivity in all sectors of activity.

We should take decisive measures to strengthen responsibility, order, and discipline, and ensure a better operation of all production capacities; we should also conclude repair work and the implementation of other measures on schedule, in order to ensure the proper maintenance and operation of all our installations.

We should pay particular attention to increasing efficiency and profitability, to firmly applying the principles of self-management and self-administration, and to increasing the responsibility of democratic bodies, of the working people's councils, and of the general meetings. We would thus see to it that all working people in the field of chemistry, in their capacity as owners, producers, and end-users, work with utmost responsibility to ensure the appropriate management of the means that the people entrusted to them for administration, and ensure the continuous development of the chemical industry in accordance with the requirements of the modern and balanced development of the whole national economy.

In the activity carried out to achieve all our objectives, scientific research should work in close cooperation with production and education. This cooperation would produce new technologies, improve the quality of products, and create new and more efficient products for all sectors of activity.

Research in the field of both organic and inorganic chemistry should pay particular attention to the proper utilization of raw materials and to obtaining new, more efficient products, thus reducing material and energy consumption and improving the quality of products in all sectors.

We should pay greater attention to obtaining new catalysts, new and more efficient polymerization processes, developing biotechnologies, expanding biochemical and synthesis processes, and making use of biomass and other materials.

There are still many areas in which chemical research can and must make an important contribution to obtaining new and more efficient materials which are required by other sectors of our national economy.

At the same time, greater attention should be paid to far-reaching and basic research and to ensuring a proper distribution of research forces, with the aim of finding rapid solutions to problems and stepping up far-reaching and basic research, taking into account the fact that there are very many areas in which chemical research should make new discoveries and obtain new, more efficient materials and products.

We should not believe that there is any field in which everything possible has been done. On the contrary, we should proceed from the fact that everything we have achieved so far is the basis for intensifying research, expanding our knowledge, and making new discoveries.

We are living in a time of great development processes in science, technology, and human knowledge in general. Essentially, chemistry is the science of new things and a revolutionary science, and we should work most resolutely to raise the level of scientific research, starting from the need for newer and newer discoveries in all areas.

Likewise, we should continue to pay great attention to perfecting the formation of cadres and raising the level of professional and scientific-technical knowledge of all working people in the field of chemistry and in all other fields of activity.

We should always bear in mind the fact that the future of our people is closely connected with raising the level of general knowledge and education, and with the strong development of science.

Let us ensure that Romanian science in general, including chemical sciences, plays an increasingly important role in the overall development of our homeland, in the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society, and in the establishment of communism in Romania. (loud applause)

Esteemed comrades, while we should give priority to implementing the socioeconomic development programs and intensively developing chemistry and scientific research, we should also broadly expand international cooperation and should ensure Romania's active participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of things of material and cultural value.

In this respect, we should more markedly develop our cooperation with the CEMA member socialist countries, with the other socialist countries, with developing countries, with developed capitalist countries, and with all other countries in the world, regardless of their social system.

In our whole activity, we should firmly proceed from the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

In all areas, including chemistry, we should ensure the implementation of long-term programs, of cooperation, of specialization in scientific and technological research activity, and should also expand cooperation and production sharing.

Romanian chemical research will continue to cooperate closely with research institutes and researchers in various countries, in order to jointly find more rapid solutions to the new and complex problems which scientific research must face today.

We appreciate the participation of a great number of scientists from other countries in the Romanian Chemistry Congress, and we consider it an expression of our relations of cooperation and an expression of the wish to increase the cooperation among our countries in the field of scientific research.

At the same time, together with our whole nation, chemical research—like our overall research—resolutely works to ensure a policy of peace; disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament; the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and transition to conventional disarmament; and works for the elimination of all chemical weapons and any other weapons of mass destruction.

Our country is determined to work most resolutely to bring about a new and democratic policy, and to establish a world free of weapons and wars.

We work most resolutely to develop cooperation with all the countries in Europe and to ensure the successful conclusion of the Vienna conference, which should give new prospects to strengthening cooperation and collaboration in all fields of activity, including the field of science and research. We firmly advocate the establishment of a region free of nuclear and chemical weapons and free of military bases in the Balkans, a region of peaceful cooperation in all fields of activity.

Taking into consideration the serious situation of the world economy, particularly the situation of developing countries, we speak out for overall solutions to the problems of underdevelopment, for a new world economic order, for the socioeconomic progress of all states, and for increasing the role of science in developing the world economy and achieving new relations of equality among all countries in the world.

Romanian scientists are determined to cooperate more closely with scientists throughout the world in order to increase their role in achieving a new and democratic policy and ensure the triumph of reason, peace, and cooperation among all the nations of the world.

In conclusion, I would like to again express my belief that the Third National Chemistry Congress will mark a new event of the greatest importance in developing Romanian chemistry, in increasing its participation in and its contribution to the overall development of our country, in ensuring the implementation of the socioeconomic development programs of our country, in ensuring that our homeland is raised to new pinnacles of progress and civilization, in continuously improving the material and cultural well-being, and in strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

I wish the proceedings of this congress complete success! (loud, prolonged applause)

Olteanu Reads Ceausescu Letter at Agrij Rally

AU2709093088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 88 p 5

[Excerpts] On Thursday, 22 September, a touching civic rally of historical significance took place in the Treznea-Agrij Commune, Salaj County, occasioned by the reading of the letter sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, in response to the telegram that the commune addressed to him in August.

In complete unity of thinking and feeling and with boundless patriotic pride, all those present received the enthusiastic letter, which, on behalf of the party secretary general and president of the Republic, was read by Comrade Constantin Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee.

In an enthusiastic atmosphere, the participants in the civic rally voiced their complete understanding of our party leader's words of appreciation, his mobilizing calls, and generous guidelines and recommendations, which

aroused in their hearts a strong revolutionary response, and they applauded, cheered, and chanted with enthusiasm for minutes on end the name of the party and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Then, Comrade Maria Stefan, first secretary of the Salaj County RCP Committee and chairman of the county People's Council, took the floor; she reiterated the feelings of boundless love and appreciation that all the Communists and working people in Salaj County have for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and for his steady concern for the harmonious and multifaceted development of Salaj County, just as he has for all the other counties of our homeland. [passage omitted]

All the speakers expressed most sincere thanks for the fact that this commune has been granted the status of seat of joint state and cooperative agroindustrial council, the sure guarantee for the transformation of this locality into a modern agroindustrial center. [passage omitted]

At the end of the civic rally, in an enthusiastic atmosphere of great patriotic ardor, the participants in the rally addressed a telegram to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

Distribution of Production Forces Reviewed
AU2709081788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0800 GMT 27 Sep 88

["Romania: Wide-Scale Changes in the Social System"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/09/1988—The high-rate industrialization, the modernization of agriculture and the harmonious distribution of the production forces in the territory have resulted in a deep-going restructuring of the population, with the working class rising in numbers: From about one million in 1938, the workers account for over six million currently, i.e. 60 per cent of the employed population.

The rise in numbers of the working class is closely linked to the aims of each development stage, the industrialization process and its intensive or extensive character in particular. Thus, the fastest growth was registered over 1971-1975, when the number of workers rose by 231,000 on an average, per year. In the 1976-1980 five-year period, following the increasingly intensive development in the economy, the workers' growth slowed down, the annual growth rate averaging 175,000 to fall to 45,000 over 1981-1985.

Per economic branches, the number of industrial workers increased at the highest rate, i.e. 2.2 times as to 1965 (2 times in transport and telecommunications), 1.4 times in construction, 1.9 times in goods circulation and communal husbanding. By territory, workers increased in numbers mostly in the less developed counties: while over 1965-1985, the average number of workers rose 1.9 times or so across the nation, in Olt and Vaslui Counties it rose 2.7 times, in Salaj - 3.1 times, a.s.o. [and so on]

As for the distribution of the working class in urban and rural centres, the social system in the countryside has changed as workers started carrying a growing weight (just as other social categories: medium-trained cadres, intellectuals, etc). While in 1965, the workers accounted for 12.7 per cent of the active population in the rural milieu, in 1977 they stood at 37.3 per cent.

Likewise, deep-going mutations have also occurred in the qualitative evolution of the working class. From a class mostly coming from poorly trained farmers, it has become a social group which is growing mostly and considerably from its own numbers, highly skilled in high-tech schools to be able to cope with the demands of technical progress. Between 1965 and 1985, over 1,600,000 young people were trained in vocational schools and as apprentices. This trend will continue in the future.

Giosan Meets European Parliament Delegation
AU2609193288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/09/1988— On Monday, 26 September, the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Nicolae Giosan, had an interview with the delegation of the Christian-Democratic Group of European Parliament headed by Egon Alfred Klepsch, president of the group, who arrived on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

The delegation includes Michel Debatisse, French deputy, Axel Zarges, West-German deputy, Constantin Stavrou, Greek deputy, Franco Borgo, Italian deputy, Hanja Maij-Weggen, Danish deputy, and Sergio Gucciono, secretary of the group.

During the talks, information were exchanged regarding the activity and concerns of the two parliamentary fora, as well as the promotion of the cooperation in various fields of mutual interest.

Emphasis was placed on the necessity to increase the parliaments' and parliamentarians' efforts for the establishment of a climate of confidence, understanding and peace on the European continent and throughout the world.

On the same day, the delegation of the Christian-Democratic Group of European Parliament had interview with Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with Marin Ivascu, chairman of the Romanian Group in the Interparliamentary Union, with deputies in the GNA.

UCY's Toma Receives Chinese Youth Delegation

AU2709090488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0810 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/09/1988—A delegation of the Communist Youth League [CYL] of the People's Republic of China, headed by Zhang Xiuxue [spelling as received], prorector of the Central School of CYL Cadres, paid a visit to Romania, over September 22-26, 1988, for swap of experience at the invitation of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth].

The delegation was received by the first secretary of the CC of the UCY, Ioan Toma. On the occasion, an exchange of information was made on the current preoccupations of the two organizations. Emphasis was placed on the relations of friendship and collaboration between the UCY and the CYL, between the Romanian and Chinese young people, that record a continuously upward course, relying upon the lasting links between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, the talks and understandings reached between the RCP general secretary, president of Romania, and the party and state leaders of the People's Republic of China.

During the visit the Chinese guests had talks with executive staff and trainees of the Central School for UCY Cadres of the Academy of Socio-Political Studies under the CC of the RCP and with researchers of the research center for youth affairs.

While in Romania, the representatives of the Chinese youth also toured socio-cultural units in Bucharest and Brasov County.

SRV Leaders Thank Ceausescu, Dascalescu

AU2609212588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Sep 88 p 5

[Message of thanks from Vietnamese leaders to Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister, for National Day message]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania:

We extend heartfelt thanks to you, the RCP, the Government of the SR of Romania, and the fraternal Romanian people for the greetings you conveyed to us on the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

We believe that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to consolidate and develop, for the benefit of the peoples in our countries and in the interest of peace and socialism.

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Franc Setinc Resigns From LCY Presidium

LD2609134688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Presidium, announced today that he is submitting his irrevocable resignation from the Presidium.

In an extensive open letter to TANJUG, Setinc draws attention to what he calls "madness which is obviously pushing us all toward disaster and which we are doing little to stop." Setinc goes on to say:

"We are concerned about slogans like 'We want weapons' and similar ones which invite a conflagration both in Kosovo and throughout Yugoslavia. I am not condemning the people who take part in the meetings because the majority come with good intentions. I am afraid of the people who manipulate the troubles and emotions of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. They simply cannot comprehend and understand what passions guide people when they shout, "Death to Vlasi, death to Shiptars." Serb nationalists who call for violence are no better than Albanian separatists. This is what most harms the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and the dignity and pride of the freedom-loving Serb people. This is not in keeping with the wish of the majority of Yugoslavs who want peace restored in Kosovo and the life and property of all people, especially the Serbs and Montenegrins who are under the greatest threat, to be ensured without delay.

Recently I had personal experience of how many lies and how much political scheming hound every step of a man who is guided on his journey around Kosovo by thoughts of greater understanding and cooperation between all people regardless of their national affiliation, rather than by the desire for hostility and division. I was astonished when I found out that I was followed from village to village during my visit to Kosovo by various emissaries who wanted to "correct" my impressions. The methods they used in doing this means it will not be difficult to achieve. Because in political scheming hidden ways predominate! If the cause is right they think that any means are permissable... This is a great self-delusion! Articles by POLITIKA EKSPRES and NIN about me and my visit to Kosovo are tendentious, untrue, and insulting. They are governed by some sort of strange rule which states: 100 truths and just one lie! Taken altogether we could call this: the anatomy of the public censure of an individual. They write that I participated by telephone in a Ljubljana television program and said that the protest meetings serve the causes of hatred and division. If they were to obtain a recording of my reply, which the translater did in fact translate badly, they would hear: 'Let the trains of brotherhood and unity which are on a mission of understanding and cooperation run and let those which are serving hatred and division be halted'. When they called me late at night once again and asked me what I thought of the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, I quite sincerely replied that I was too tired for such a conversation. I did not know that the telephone conversation was being transmitted live on television.

At every step I started the discussion about the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins under duress, about poor intranational relations, and especially about the question how to stop it and change it. I called on the Albanians to offer a hand of friendship to their neighbors in trouble and to resist vigorously Albanian nationalists and separatists who are actually pushing them into isolation and developmental stagnation. I said everywhere that peace is the only guarantee that Kosovo will embark on the road of economic and social progress. During my visit, I came across settlements and villages in which the Serbs and the Albanians understand one another where every dispute is sorted out and dealt with quickly. Should I have been sad to have come across areas where people live in harmony? When they told me that there is concord among them, but that they are worried about what is happening in other environments, I said to them: 'Do not allow bad elements in other environments to settle among yourselves! Try and deepen your harmony so that you will have a positive influence on others too!' When I told them that they can serve as an example ot others I did not by any means diminish or underrate the gravity of the problem in Kosovo as a whole, in the Prizren municipality, and in specific settlements. Why do municipal bodies in Prizren have to have meetings and justify themselves saying that they were not glossing over the situation and that my stay among them produced postive results. And to whom should I make my excuses? Is it is necessary to sow doubts and intolerance because of a sentence of mine which the correspondents interpreted and each tailored as he saw fit? Where is this leading?

Such articles and behavior contributes to the creation of an atmosphere of wider proportions which prevents me, as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the group for Kosovo, from continuing to carry out my tasks unhindered. And this means that I am prevented from carrying out my duties in general.

If the LCY Central Committee considers that my unconditional resignation also means that I lose the right to continue to be a member of the LCY Central Committee, then I will accept that sacrifice too. I am not running away from the responsibility for the fact that we are slowly and irresolutely carry out the conclusions and stances of the 13th LCY Congress and the first LCY conference, the current economic and political reforms, a transformation of the LCY, and the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. As early as last year, I warned that I had not been sufficiently successful in my work, particularly in the two [word indistinct] for which I was particularly responsible: in efforts to rapidly regenerate the Socialist Alliance, so that it might embrace the whole variety of the pluralism of self-managing interests and all

the richness of opinion; and in efforts to overcome the negative divisions in the media, whose motto is: Nationalists, that is what the others are! I tendered my resignation, but it was not accepted.

At the 15th LCY Central Committee session, when submitting a report on the work of the Central Committee, I said that I was tired of the work methods, which were killing me and which were not producing results. At the 16th LCY Central Committee session I submitted a report on Kosovo for which I gained no small amount of recognition from all parts of Yugoslavia, particularly from Serbia. Now this is experiencing the fate of a session which they say has not achieved its aim, and some individuals are even attacking it by saying that it stirred up nationalisms of all kinds, particularly Albanian, an assessment that I cannot agree with.

I am aware that my resignation will be the subject of unpleasant commentaries. It is a personal drama if a man has to decide on such a step after more than 40 years' membership of the Yugoslav Communist party, that is, of the LCY and the Federation of Yugoslav Communist Youth. This is not a withdrawal from political life nor is it a capitulation before the destructive avalanche which has taken hold of a great part of the country. It is a warning—if anything at all can be heard in the general uproar—that the last hour which we have in which we must come to our senses is ticking away; the hour in which we must free ourselves of damaging emotions and passions, of various nationalist and dogmatic myths, and follow the voice of reason and progress. We can only solve the crisis by a democratic path, by the path of the three reforms, by strengthening the legal state [pravna drzava] and by respecting man's rights and freedoms. There is no other way, unless we want to plunge into an abyss of darkness and hopelessness. Together we must all build patiently a more democratic and richer future in which a free and equal development of all the nations and nationalities without exception will be ensured. The orientations of the LC of Slovenia too are exterted into these endeavors, and they have received the widest possible support of the membership and of the people of this republic. This is why I am dismayed when I hear that slogans against the representatives of Slovenia, Milan Kucan and Joze Smole, are chanted during the meetings. Instead of stopping the slanderer who has put out the lie that the Slovene political leadership is seeking to reevaluate the 1981 counterrevolution in Kosovo, the avalanche is allowed to roll on and cause untold damage, says the open letter by Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [no end quotation marks as received]

Ckrebic on Changes in LCY Presidium

AU2709120988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 88 p 6

[Blazo Sarovic report on the speech Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, made at the discussion forum of the Center for Ideological and Party Work of the Communal LC Committee of the Belgrade commune of Vracar : "Big Changes in the Top Party Leadership"]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep—Because of the importance of the topics to be discussed; responsibility for fulfilling the expectations of the party grassroots, working people, and citizens; as well as the complex nature of its preparations, the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee will not be held at the announced time. This was what Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at the discussion forum of the Center for Ideological and Party Work of the Communal LC Committee of the Belgrade commune of Vracar. The debate at this discussion forum had been organized in order to discuss ideological and political questions connected with the constitutional changes, but Ckrebic's speech on the forthcoming LCY Central Committee session attracted more attention.

Ckrebic divided all the topics to be discussed at the 17th session into eight basic points. First, the LC will come out with the demand for a more resolute approach to the realization of economic reform. This demand was also made at the first LCY Conference and this organization must realize it. It is necessary to take measures that will lead to a turnabout in the current economic policy. Some of these measures will be taken by the federal government and some by the SFRY Assembly with stimulus given by the sociopolitical organizations—all with a view to alleviating our present socioeconomic situation. This would be the second item on the agenda. Under the third item, according to Ckrebic, the Central Committee will present its resolute stance that the agreed deadlines for adopting constitutional amendments—which are a basic prerequisite for implementing the economic reform—must be complied with. This also implies solving all controversial issues connected with the constitutional position of the SR of Serbia.

There Must Be No Vacillations [subhead]

Preparations for reform of the LC are an urgent task set by the LCY Conference which will be discussed at the forthcoming session. The complex problems of Kosovo, the implementation of the stances of the 9th and 16th LCY Central Committee sessions, and the critical review of the realization of these stances will inevitably be included in the debate at the 17th session. According to Ckrebic, the same session will establish the responsibility of individuals and bodies for the failure to implement stances on Kosovo, and one can also expect certain cadre changes in this connection. The LC will speak out and take specific stands on the question of strikes and these stands must be "obvious and clear because there must not and cannot be any vacillations there." The cadre changes in the highest LCY organs that will have to be made at the 17th session will certainly attract special public attention. This very evening, the Cadre Commission of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the presidents of the republican central committees and provincial conferences, as well as the secretary and president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in conformity with the statute will discuss the topical cadre questions that will be broached at the forthcoming

plenary session. Along with this, one will establish criteria for cadre policy and will also insist upon the further division between state and party offices, which should open up room for young people to reach leading positions.

In this respect, Dusan Ckrebic also announced certain cadre changes in the LCY Central Committee Presidium which will be made in agreement with republican central LC committees, that is, provincial LC conferences. Finally, the 17th LCY Central Committee session will adopt conclusions on citizens' rallies, particularly touching upon some of their negative consequences.

On Meetings and Name Calling [subhead]

The LC's stand cannot be other than to support citizens in their demands, but neither can it ignore when gatherings are misused , that is, ignore the phenomena which do not act in a cohesive way and which undermine the social entity of Yugoslavia, slogans such as "Death to Albanians," and "Give us arms," or an invocation of foreign intervention. Ckrebic pointed out that there had been some forced attempts to proclaim all gatherings to be single-nationality ones and that many words had been used in order to settle that, because it is a fact that when only Serbs and Montenegrins gather together, they are already two nations. One must respect the situation in multinational communities and their sensitivity, upon which the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia and the Presidency of the SR of Serbia have taken a clear stand. According to Ckrebic, there is sometimes some unjustifiable name calling at these rallies—names of individual officials are mentioned and "some people are mentioned who are completely blame-free and a great injustice is done to them in this way." He only mentioned Vidoje Zarkovic, along with the remark that, apart from him, there are others who do not deserve to be talked about in that way. This does not mean that anybody who occupies an office is exempt from all responsibility, but he also cannot be labeled without any reason and then left to defend himself alone.

If it completes its work, and it seems that it will, a working group headed by Vinko Hafner will submit its report at the 17th session on the circumstances that ensued after the conflicts between some leaderships of republican and provincial party organizations. Ckrebic said that assessments and evaluations of the counterrevolution in Kosovo which were adopted in April 1981 cannot be submitted for revision now, and that what was heard at the session of the LC Central Committee Presidium of Slovenia was then discussed at the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Presidium members from Slovenia claimed that press reports on what had been said at the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium were inaccurate, and that the correction that followed failed to change things much. "Comrades from Slovenia perhaps have their justification for what they said there, but the fact remains that the evaluation of Kosovo events lived through two congresses and many plenary sessions of the LCY Central Committee at which it was not called into question."

There were many questions that activists asked at this discussion forum which can even be called sensitive. Not a single one was left without an answer, although some were not made available to the public. Milenko Spasojevic asked whether the 17th session will be held at Brioni and whether it will discuss the Serbian leadership. Ckrebic said that not for a single moment did the LCY Central Committee Presidium have any dilemma about the venue of the 17th session. No other place apart from Belgrade was thought about. Everything else one can hear about it is mere speculation. As concerns the question of the replacement of the Serbian leadership, Ckrebic said that there had been some wishes that the question be put on the table, but that it was not accepted. The solutions for our problems should be sought elsewhere, in solving the Kosovo problems and the current economic problems, and not in replacing the Serbian leadership. There is no reason for the session not to be open to the public.

LCY's Racan Warns of Need for Party Reform

LD2509101588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia can resolve the current crisis and ensure a stable economic and social development and a socialist future only through radical economic and political reforms and a democratic renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), which presupposes the engagement of all creative forces in the country, LCY Presidency member Ivica Racan assessed today.

Speaking at the unveiling of a movement [as received] to Veljko Vlahovic, a close associate of the late President Tito, Racan set out that all Yugoslavs, who he said were rightly concerned for their own future, the future of their children and the future of the country as a whole, were aware of their common interests and unanimous in their demands that the crisis be overcome.

Racan said that the situation in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo—where Albanian separatists and chauvinists continue to be active—was deteriorating each day and acquiring dramatic proportions. He underscored that it was everyone's duty to help resolve the Kosovo drama and specified that, due to the absence of adequate solutions, the drama was turning into a Yugoslav one.

Racan said that the situation in Kosovo could not be stabilized unless the institutions of the political system were enabled immediately to ensure at least the personal security of all Kosovo inhabitants and the security of their property. Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, where Albanians make up 80 percent of the population, are terrorized by Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

Around 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the province since the 1981 large-scale demonstrations of Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

Racan assessed that the solution of open questions concerning the constitutional position of the Republic of Serbia, of which the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina are a part, was very important for the stabilization of the political and inter-nationality relations in Kosovo, in Serbia and in the country as a whole. Under the existing Constitution, Serbia has no state jurisdiction in the judicial, security and national defense affairs of the two provinces and their international cooperation.

Without directly mentioning the rallies of solidarity with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins held in Serbia and Montenegro, but clearly alluding to them, Racan said that the Kosovo drama must not be manipulated with and that one type of nationalism and chauvinism must not be answered with another. The understandable widespread indignation with and protests against the counterrevolutionary activities of Albanian chauvinists and separatists must not be used as an alibi for the emergence of Serbian, Croatian or any other type of nationalism, Racan warned.

Dizdarevic Interviewed on Unification History

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[Text] Rijeka, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Viewed from the time frame of today, the importance of the unification of Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, Slovene Primorska and several islands with the mother country is an event as great as when it happened. Time is not expressed in terms of years alone, time is also history. What was at stake at the time was the historic aspirations of the Croat and Slovene peoples to live in their homeland, their centuries-long awareness and the feeling of belonging to their own country.

This was stated by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency in his interview with NOVI LIST and GLAS ISTRE carried in connection with the 45th anniversary of the unification of Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, Slovene Primorska and several islands with their mother country.

Foreign occupations, foreign authorities replaced each other in the history of these areas. The only thing which was not replaced was their desire to denationalize and to scatter the Slav population. However, the awareness of the belonging to one's own mother nation lived and grew. Wasn't a National Council set up in Istria at the end of World War I not unlike that in Zagreb, Dizdarevic recalled. Did not the politicians from Istria operate within the ambit of the Yugoslav Committee in London, too? The will of the people cannot be stifled.

Fascist terror did not succeed either. Under the most difficult conditions, as early as the beginning of the war, the Croats and Slovenes in Istria, together with progressive Italians, opted for Yugoslavia by fighting for their freedom in free Yugoslavia. What can better explain this than the historic decisions of the District National Liberation Committee for Istria and of the National Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia, the Slovene National Liberation Committee of November 1943, and the decision of the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

Dizdarevic said Yugoslavia defended these decisions successfully with its own struggle. However, when the war ended, when the world came face to face with ruin and counted millions of casualties, when all the people wanted was peace and justice, historic justice began to be tripped. Let us remember only the opposition to the formalization of the decision made by the people of Istria and Slovene Primorska. We were on the brink of a new war. We alone know the cost of the pain and efforts not to edge over that brink.

It was demonstrated, as always, that the force of freedom-loving aspirations of the people, the life of the people together in freedom which they had won, the reliance of one on the other in the defense of their freedom, and the deep sentiments of ties with the community of Yugoslav nations and nationalities are stronger than the forces which were unwilling to accept such reality and become reconciled with the new reality gained in struggle.

Members of Italian nationality are an inseparable part of this togetherness and its strength—yesterday, today, and tomorrow—both in the area in which they live and in Yugoslavia as a whole. Is there a better illustration of the durability of the foundations of this togetherness, equality, than the rights guaranteed to the Italian nationality by Socialist Yugoslavia; than a whole series of institutions operating in the Italian language, some of which transcend the framework of their environment; than the schools, daily papers, theaters, institutions, publishing houses, their own associations? All these institutions, the SFRY Presidency president said, freely communicate with the institutions in neighboring friendly Italy.

On many occasions we and our Italian friends stressed that the Osimo accords are a joint victory of the spirit of realism, cooperation, and lasting interests of our countries. This packet of measures not only removed the burdens of the past and definitively regulated the border between the two countries; the results of cooperation in the border area were put on a permanent footing and the road for its widest possible development was mapped.

The value of these accords transcends our borders and has its European and even its world dimension, Dizdarevic said. When they were signed—immediately following the Helsinki conference and the signing of the

Helsinki Charter—they represented virtually the only concrete contribution to the atmosphere of the introduction of the proclaimed spirit of European cooperation. In this respect their value is historic.

The Osimo accords have their political significance and economic substance. Politically they have been fulfilled in many respects. However, we are still awaiting the law on global protection for the Slovene national minority in Italy to be passed, and the modalities of the regulation of the restitution of cultural items are still under discussion.

In the economic sphere, the intensity of our relations can be even stronger, Dizdarevic notes. Apart from some very specific issues, for instance, the building of Osimo approach roads, the Osimo agreements envisage unhampered and constant expansion of cooperation via various forms, ranging from transportation and water resources, border trade and movement of people, to joint ventures in the economic area on a broader scale.

Pointing out the need for Yugoslavia to join current European economic developments more speedily, Dizdarevic said that with the forthcoming economic reform we must remove all obstacles to the functioning of the single market in our country. This is the condition for fuller, broader and, for Yugoslavia, economically more profitable cooperation with the future single European market, Raif Dizdarevic stressed in his exclusive interview granted to Zeljko Zmak, GLAS ISTRE director, and to Dragi Kojic, NOVI LIST editor, which will be published tomorrow.

Mikulic News Conference for Austrian Journalists
AU2309190288 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Helmut Oppletal report on news conference given by the head of the SFRY Government, Branko Mikulic, for Austrian journalists in Belgrade on 23 September]

[Text] The 60-year-old Bosnian, Branko Mikulic, a graduate economist and veteran of the Yugoslav partisan war, in a talk with Austrian journalists in Belgrade, said that he was rather confident concerning the government's efforts to overcome the ethnic conflicts in Serbia and Kosovo Province, which is inhabited by ethnic Albanians. If this was not the case, the Belgrade leadership would have long ago adopted tougher measures against the Albanian nationalist chauvinists, as Mikulic called them. The mass demonstrations in Serbia, during which Serbian nationalist undertones have repeatedly been heard, were played down by the head of government. They are only an expression of the freedom of speech and the right to demonstrate in Yugoslavia.

Branko Mikulic, however, without revealing details, announced new measures by the state to guarantee safety in Kosovo for persons and property. This was an allusion to incursions by Albanians on the Serbian minority in Kosovo. Through a change in the constitution, the Government of the Serbian Republic in Belgrade would like to facilitate the deployment of security forces and the initiation of court proceedings in the autonomous Albanian province and subject it to a greater degree to central Serbian control.

Regarding the desolate economic situation in Yugoslavia, Mikulic admitted that mistakes were made in the past. We have lived beyond our means, he stated. The prime minister announced that as of 1 January 1991, a completely new economic system will be introduced in Yugoslavia which will involve a change toward market economy and largely unlimited activities by private enterprises, including direct foreign investment, will be allowed.

Regarding the European integration process, Branko Mikulic stated that Yugoslavia wants to retain its status as a nonaligned country by all means. It is neither oriented toward the East nor toward the West. However, Yugoslavia is a country situated in Europe and the Mediterranean region, and would not like to be excluded from all European processes. Yugoslavia is closely following the plans for the creation of the European single market in 1992 and would like to participate under the given conditions, particularly in new scientific and technological projects. However, Yugoslavia does not want to join political organizations or assume political obligations that would endanger its neutral role as a nonaligned country, Mikulic emphasized.

Concerning Austria's possible entry into the EC, the Yugoslav head of government pointed out that this is a sovereign decision on the part of Vienna, which would in no way entail negative consequences for relations between Austria and Yugoslavia.

Branko Mikulic then was asked whether he wanted to avoid a meeting with President Waldheim by choosing Lower Austria and not Vienna as a venue for the meeting with the Austrian Government. Mikulic replied diplomatically that he has agreed with Vranitzky to communicate on the basis of purely practical deliberations, that means without the inconveniences of protocol. Asked whether Waldheim represents such an inconvenience, Mikulic dryly called for the next question, but he eventually added that Yugoslavia has always accepted the fact that the Austrians themselves choose their head of state, and the Yugoslav Government has always behaved correctly in this issue. This all you can expect from us.

Mikulic will be visiting Vienna next week and will bring along a package of economic wishes on the part of Yugoslavia. He will also raise the question of the Slovene and Croatian minorities in Austria. However, in general, he considers current relations between the two neighbor countries to be very good.

Montenegro LC Criticizes LCY Leadership

LD2509110488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Titograd, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The exceptionally difficult situation in the country makes it essential that the LCY and its leadership should pull themselves together, put an end to opportunism, quarrels, and friction in their own ranks, and undertake measures and activities as they are duty bound to do by the LCY program and the SFRY Constitution. It is vital that they should, by consensus and in a resolute way, undertake action for getting society of crisis, strengthening the stability of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], strenghtening the brotherhood, unity, and equality of the nations and nationalities in order to open up prospects for socialist self-management and the further development of democratic relations in the country.

This, it is stressed in the report, was the assessment made at a session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium which, in the framework of preparations for the next session of the LC Central Committee of this republic and the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, considered the current political situation in the republic and the country. At the same session the Presidium was informed about the recently held solidarity meetings in Niksic and Cetinje.

Vojvodina Bodies Criticize 'Serbian Nationalism'

LD2409213188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2013 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, September 24 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, northeastern Yugoslavia, and the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina found at their joint session yesterday, as released here today, that the several-year-long crisis in Yugoslavia had negatively influenced the situation of political security in Vojvodina since it had taken a turn for the worse since a protest rally by a group of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, held in Novi Sad, capital of the province of Vojvodina, on last July 9.

At that time, a political debate on constitutional changes got strained in the Republic of Serbia, of which constituent parts are the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, and a slowdown occurred in the work on jointly finding out the best solutions for the remaining uncoordinated matters in draft amendments to Serbia's constitution, for all that the overwhelming number of matters has been successfully coordinated so far.

The communique warns that an attack unprecedented in the post-World-War-Two history of Vojvodina has been launched at the province of Vojvodina, at the brotherhood (?and) unity of its numerous nationalities at the hands of political aggressive groups and a number of public mouthpieces.

The communique does not explicitly mention Serbia's party and state leaderships by their names nor some Belgrade mass media considered to be under their pressure, but it is clear even to casual observers of political developments at whom the words of criticism by Vojvodina's leaderships are pointed.

The two presidencies, the communique has it, have the most energetic words of condemnation to say about manipulations in the service of cheap policy goals and pressures associated with constitutional changes in Serbia and destabilisation of the political situation in the province.

The two presidencies called on all the League of Communists of Vojvodina's leading bodies and local orgaisations to oppose in the most decisive way nationalistic tendencies in general and Serbian nationalism in particular, said to be the most present and aggressive in Vojvodina.

Further on Vojvodina Statement

AU2409193088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] It was announced today that a joint session of the Presidency of Vojvodina and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina, which was held yesterday, discussed ideopolitical and social trends in the country and their influence on the political security situation in Vojvodina. The sessions of the two presidiums was also attended by Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Presidency of Serbia, and Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. Nikola Bulatovic has prepared extensive excerpts from the statement issued by the Presidency and the Presidium at their session:

The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC point to the pronouncedly unfavorable consequences of the present economic trends for the political feelings of the working people and citizens, the aggravation of social tensions, and the deterioration of the political security situation in general, in Vojvodina as well.

The deterioration of the economic, social, and political situation in Vojvodina is particularly strongly affected by the economic exhaustion of agricultural producers and the unfavorable situation of the agro-industrial complex in general. The economic course (?this year) which characterizes the overall social and economic development and the ideopolitical tendencies in the entire country has also negatively affected the political security situation in Vojvodina and the situation in and the development of the LC in the province.

This situation began to deteriorate rapidly and dramatically in the past few months, and especially after the protest meeting of a group of ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July, the exacerbation of the constitutional political discussions in the SR of Serbia, and the check in the work on jointly finding the best solutions for the remaining unresolved questions in the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, although the majority of questions have been successfully resolved in such joint work.

Manipulations serving petty political goals and pressure connected with the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, the divisions in the leaderships, and the destabilization of the political situation in Vojvodina and thus in Serbia and in Yugoslavia are most energetically denounced.

The Presidency of Vojvodina and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee point to the obligation of all the Communists, and LC organizations and bodies, to strive most consistently so that the stances of the LCY on these questions, adopted at the 16th Central Committee session, and the stances of the SFRY Presidency of 14 September, will be respected and implemented.

Negative qualities displayed at protests and other rallies, their tendentious treatment and commentaries in some public media, founded by sociopolitical organizations of the SR of Serbia, unfavorably reflect in the climate of trust in the SR of Vojvodina and the situation in Vojvodina. The two presidiums therefore expect that the leaderships of Serbia, of the LC of Serbia, and of the SAWP of Serbia will critically examine these occurrences and take a clear political stance on them.

The two presidiums assess that for the first time since the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina has been set up, intranational relations in the province that have been carefully cultivated for decades and developed consistently with the LC policy, have been shaken under the influence of these pressures. This threatens seriously to disturb these relations, which would gravely undermine brotherhood, unity, and equality of the peoples and nationalities, and political stability of Vojvodina as the part of multinational Yugoslavia where the number of nationalities is the greatest.

The two presidiums call on all leaderships and organizations of the LC of Vojvodina and all the progressive forces to organize a struggle to overcome these consequences most urgently, on the basis of their own assessments and the specific situation in every community. This presupposes above all a most resolute resistance to nationalist tendencies and their carriers, especially to Serbian nationalism which is most present and most aggressive in Vojvodina.

At its next meeting, the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina will comprehensively and self-critically assess the activities in the province so far and determine the tasks of Vojvodina Communists in the struggle for the implementation of the tasks of the ninth and 16th LCY Central Committee sessions, and the consolidation of the situation in Kosovo.

The Communists, organizations, and leaderships of the LC of Vojvodina and all organized socialist forces are obliged to struggle for the most democratic social atmosphere in which the public discussion on constitutional changes should develop. One should resist with particular resolve the tendencies to impose solutions through pressure and a propaganda campaign that proclaims a discussion completed before it has started and does not shrink from the gravest public disqualifications of everybody who takes a different standpoint. This jeopardizes the democratic and legitimate course of the public discussion.

The Presidency of Vojvodina and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee believe that the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia along the Central Committee line on current questions of the implementation of relations, upon which Serbian unity and togetherness is based, should be adopted within the deadlines set, for this is of essential importance for the stability of Vojvodina, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, as well as for a reduction of the political tensions manifested in our society in this connection. It is urgent that an efficient harmonization be achieved between the respective organs of the SR of Serbia and Vojvodina on disputed questions about the changes of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, in a democratic way, in the manner foreseen by the Constitution, and on the basis of the 13th LCY Congress precepts, the stances of the conference, and the stances of the SFRY Presidency. This would be a major contribution to a public discussion and would show the way to overcoming the existing confrontations and divisions and the negative politicization which (?is deteriorating) to the point of political instability, not only in Vojvodina and Serbia but also in Yugoslavia.

The two presidiums particularly point out that nationalist platforms can be observed in which efforts to abolish the socialist self-managing concept of our development; to abandon the federal system; to restore a bourgeois political system, confederalism and separatism, or bureaucratic centralism and unitarianism are very aggressively present. The national liberation struggle and revolution, the personality and work of Comrade Tito, and the place and the role of the Yugoslav People's Army are most crudely attacked.

The LC must openly and publicly strive to assure that the responsibility of every Communist and public worker should be examined in accordance with the socially and politically set norms, but it must also oppose any discrediting and public, unfounded naming of names of individuals only because they have different views.

The Vojvodina Presidency and the Provincial Committee Presidium point out the obligation of all Communists and all political system institutions to become fully involved in a consistent and efficient implementation of the constitutionality and the rule of law. In keeping with the latest stances of the SFRY Presidency, one should especially determine how to struggle against attempts to create organizations parallel to the institutions of the legitimate political system, as well as against those who strive to make them legitimate and who support their activities in the LC and in public.

Proceeding from these stances, the leaderships of the LC and other political leaderships and social organs in the communes and in the Novi Sad City and the University Committee of the LC of Vojvodina should immediately make a comprehensive assessment of the political situation and tendencies in their communities and should determine programs of their activities, the statement on the joint session of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina held in Novi Sad yesterday says in conclusion.

Veterans Critical of LCY Central Committee

AU2409202388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Veterans of Kosovo-Metohija war brigades who live and work in Belgrade demand a swift implementation of specific actions that will make peaceful life and work possible for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. This is the position expressed by all the participants at a meeting in the Sava Center in Belgrade, at which the veterans are discussing the current political situation in the country with emphasis on Kosovo. Vesna Dadic reports:

At its 17th session, the LCY Central Committee will undergo a test before the Communists and the peoples of Yugoslavia. Either it will pass it and obtain the support of the people, or it will have to exit from the political scene, the veterans of the Kosovo-Metohija brigades decisively said. This gathering of veterans from Kosovo and Metohija was not ordered by anybody either in the republic or the city and it should have a working nature rather than be a demonstration, (Petar Petrovic) said at the opening of the rally, greeting over 500 veterans present.

Ideological leaders of the counterrevolution in Kosovo are members of the LCY and they are in highest state offices. They publicly express their loyalty to Yugoslavia, but at the same time they work for greater Albania.

Our state organs have convicted and arrested about 4,000 misled and indoctrinated youths, but they did not call the separatist leadership to account, Savka Djakovic said. It is quite unrealistic to call for a differentiation of the Albanians in Kosovo while the ideological leaders of the counterrevolution live freely in luxury, enjoying privileges and war medals. These leaders have built their policy in the institutions of the system in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and they endeavor to keep at any cost the province apart from the SR of Serbia.

The 1974 Constitution legally deprived the republic of the most important powers outside the territory of so-called Serbia proper. Savka Djakovic said that the veterans therefore unreservedly support the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution and the political and state leadership of Serbia.

The LCY Central Committee and the highest state organs issue minutes and statements, but the people want action, it was said at the gathering today. The 16th LCY Central Committee session disappointed the expectations. Instead of specific measures that would end the counterrevolution in Kosovo, we got stances and conclusions that have been repeated umpteen times. Unless the 17th session publicly names all those leaders that are responsible for disunity in Serbia and for the sufferings of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, we demand that an extraordinary LCY Congress be convened, the veterans said.

The discussion continues.

Presidency Discusses Kosovo Situation

LD2609203988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—It has been announced that the SFRY Presidency, at a joint session with the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, should again consider the situation in Kosovo. The reason for this are the latest events in this province and in particular the implementation of the Yugoslav program to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The Yugoslav program for Kosovo is a specific document from which are derived the tasks for the competent organs of all the republics, provinces, and the federation. Their aim is the urgent halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, the rapid return of those who have already emigrated, as well as the creation of lasting sociopolitical, legal, economic, and other conditions for stimulating the arrival of citizens from throughout the country who would want to live and work in Kosovo.

The program contains 90 measures. However, although more than 6 months have elapsed since it was adopted, the realization of the numerous and ambitious tasks of the Yugoslav program for Kosovo is, in practical terms, only just beginning. Indeed, although it took almost a year to prepare, again much time was lost on giving the tasks specific form.

Members of the SFRY Presidency will probably have on their table the reports of the republics and provinces and of the federation on the performance of the tasks which they have taken on from the above-mentioned program. However, it appears that the balance is at present very "thin" because the implementation of the proposed measures is going ahead very slowly. Thus, for example, the basic aim is not being achieved—the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. This process is continuing and in the first 6 months 1,270 inhabitants of Kosovo of non-Albanian nationality (95 families with 287 members and 983 individuals) emigrated. Most emigration is from the municipalities of Pristina, Pec, Titova Mitrovica, Kosovoska Kamenica, Gnjilane, Istok, and Urosevac.

Little has been done in creating the conditions for the return of those who have emigrated and still less for the arrival of Yugoslavs who would like to live and work in Kosovo. Moreover, the statistic that in the middle of June the time period for the performance of over 50 tasks in this program had elapsed without there yet being precise reports as to why some tasks have not been carried out, is the best indication of the dimensions of this problem which should be resolved by the whole country.

Analyzing these reports, the SFRY Presidency will certainly establish responsibility for the delay over the realisation of the Yugoslav programme for Kosovo.

This is all the more likely to be done because the political-security situation in this province remains very difficult and complex with a tendency to deteriorate.

Meetings Protest Albanian Separatism

20,000 at Vrsac Meeting

LD2409163188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Vrsac, 24 September (TANJUG)—The solidarity meeting with the Serbs and Montenegrins opened in Vrsac today at about 1600 with the singing of the Yugoslav anthem and chants of Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia."

Approximately 20,000 inhabitants of many localities in Serbia, including about 1,000 people form Kosovo, were first greeted by Dragoljub Pasalic, secretary of the Presidium of the Vrsac SAWP Municipal Conference, who stressed that the Kosovo drams was a tragedy for our entire country.

Meeting Held at Stolice, Krupanj

AU2409155588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] At Stolice near Krupanj, 10.000 people at a mass rally marked the anniversary of the historic military-political conference and staged a solidarity meeting with the people in Kosovo who have no rights. Vojic Zukic reports:

Now more than ever, we must struggle for and strengthen brotherhood and unity and all other achievements of our glorious national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, created through the strength of our people and our party, Major General Slavko Popovic, president of the Republican Committee of the Veterans Federation of Serbia, said when addressing a large gathering in Stolice. This traditional liberty celebration grew into a protest meeting of the people against Albanian atrocities in Kosovo.

Those speaking were Marko Djukanovic, president of the Krupanj Communal Assembly; (Dr Milivoje Praskavic); [name indistinct], an ethnic Albanian of Krupanj; and Dragan Damjanovic, president of the Youth Federation of the Drina and Kolubara Valleys.

A message was sent from Stolice to the party and state leaderships of Yugoslavia and Serbia, stressing the demand for a most urgent squaring of accounts with all the protagonists of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. It is expected that the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee will finally and unconditionally dismiss from their responsible offices all those who have not (?supported) the party, state, and people's strivings.

5,000 Protest in Bela Palanka

AU2309161988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] More than 5,000 people, including guests from Urosevac, have gathered in (?Red) Square in Bela Palanka. Our correspondent from Nis, Dragan Dmitrijevic has the details:

[Begin Pavlovic recording] Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Macedonians, Romanies, and members of other peoples and nationalities have always lived and (?continue to live) in harmony in our small area of Bela Palanka. It has never happened before that children have been frightened or cried because they were born as members of other peoples and nationalities. [cheering and clapping] Women have never been raped to force them out, nor has any old woman been disturbed. The word stoning is unknown here. [shouts of: Long live the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia] Therefore, we are pained by the fact that Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo have been suffering [word indistinct] 8 cruel, difficult, and hard years—some of them are here with us. [cries of: Down with the traitors of the Serbian people, and cheers] [Words indistinct] is crying and raped women are put in the pillories of shame. The first dusk brings fear into Serbian and Montenegrin houses and there is no freedom for non-Albanian people in the fertile, green field of Kosovo. [end recording]

These were the words of the president of the Bela Palanka SAWP Communal Conference, Bogoljub Pavlovic.

We are here, not only to raise our voices against the violence and tyranny of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo, but also to say to honest Albanians that this evil can be fought in their community not only with verbal statements, but also with specific action to defend Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and to offer them a brotherly hand, in order to return love and trust and in that way wash off the stain that has fallen on all Albanians because of the actions of Albanian nationalists and separatists. This was the message from Dzavid Kahari, president of the Ulcinj Youth Federation.

Nis Solidarity Meeting Ends

LD2409160588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Nis, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The Nis meeting of solidarity and unity with the dispossessed Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, in which over 300,000 people from many parts of our country took part, has ended.

The speeches by Dr Milorad Bozic, president of the Nis SAWP Municipal Conference; Dragoslav Pavlovic, president of the City Municipal Assembly; People's Hero Aleksandar Vojinovic; Miodrag Sparavalo, a 1941 partisan from Kosovo; worker Milovan Mladenovic; girl student Jasmina Music; and many slogans heard during the meeting demanded a vigorous (?settling of scores) with the counterrevolution in Kosovo and with Albanian nationalist irredentists.

The meeting, and the telegrams sent to the highest party and state organs in the country and in Serbia, endorsed the constitutional changes and demanded full accountability for incapable leaders and opportunties.

The meeting ended with a song about Yugoslavia, and with "Branko's Dance," which symbolizes the brotherhood and unity of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

Rallies Demand Changes

LD2409212088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 24 (TANJUG)—A large rally held in Nis and two smaller ones, one in, each, Vrsac and Bela Palanka, were added today to the long list of rallies by solidarity with the deprived Serbs and Montenegrins in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, organized in the republics of Serbia and Montenegro since late July.

At the same time, the party presidency of Montenegro today assessed that the rallies of solidarity held in that republic recently were manifestations of unreserved support to the non-Albanian population in Kosovo, compelled to move out of the province under pressure from Albanian chauvinists and separatists. The Montenegro party Presidency, however, drew attention to the fact that the rallies had also been characterized by activities of anti-socialist forces.

The Montenegro party presidency took the stand that there was no need for any further rallies of solidarity in that republic.

The 300,000 participants in today's rally of solidarity in Nis, the largest town in Serbia after Belgrade, categorically called for an effective battle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo, lent support to the League of Communists in its battle for social progress and demanded the dismissal of all those who oppose changes.

The participants in the Nis rally categorically demanded that the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia be revised so that the republic could exercise its state powers in its Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

One of the speakers at the Nis rally insisted that the persecutions of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo had begun as far back as during World War Two, that around 350,000 Serbs and Montenegrins had been forced to leave Kosovo since the end of the war and that over 300,000 Albanians had moved to live in Yugoslavia.

The participants in the Nis rally demanded that the existing programme of measures for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo be amended with a decision on the introduction of a state of emergency in the province and the dissolution of all its state and political institutions which had failed to fulfill their duty in the battle against Albanian immigrants be expelled from Kosovo and all Serbs, Montenegrins and members of other nationalities who had left the province return to it.

Solidarity Meeting in Bojnik

LD2509142388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1931 GMT 24 Sep

[Summary] Bojnik, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—A meeting of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo who have been deprived of their rights was held this afternoon in Bojnik. About 20,000 citizens from this region attended, as well as several hundred citizens from Kosovo. The meeting was addressed by Jovic Arrandjelovic, chairman of the orgnaizing committee for this solidarity meeting; Kosana Djordjevic, president of the SAWP Municipal Conference; Vitomir Krstic, president of the Municipal Committee of the Federation of Veterans' Asssociations; Tomislav Tomic, president of the Bojnik Municipal Assembly; and, on behalf of the citizens from Kosovo, Zoran Milosevic, president of the local community in Obilic.

Among the slogans seen at the meeting were the following: Slobo [Slobodan Milosevic], we are with you; Long live the LCY; Long live the SFRY; Long live the Yugoslav People's Army; Tito's thoughts and deeds show us

the way forward; Draza Markovic betrayed the people; We demand a 14th LCY Congress; We don't want arms, we want peace and freedom; We hold gatherings because we have to; No one can tell the victims of violence to remain silent; Nationalists are the enemies of Yugoslavia; We want a solution to the Kosovo drama.

30,000 at Andrijevica Meeting

LD2509141588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Summary] Andrijevica, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The solidarity meeting in Andrijevica, which was attended by about 30,000 people including several hundred Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, was opened by Vojislav Dosljak, president of the Ivangrad SAWP Municipal Conference. The meeting expressed unanimous solidarity with dispossessed Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and the demand to break the counterrevolution in this province faster and more efficiently. Milija Bakic, president of the Ivangrad Municipal Assembly, stressed that our country's legal system must be applied in Kosovo and Metohija too.

"Speaking on behalf of the dispossessed Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, Vlajko Cukic stressed that the meetings sought solutions which will obviate a recourse to arms and bloodshed among brothers, because we consider all honest Albanians to be our brothers. While the enemy, who is harboring Nazi-invader type aspirations, is calling on the Albanian people to take up the arms we are asking the appropriate organs not to be mere statisticians and chroniclers of events. We are asking that the people who have made us 'happy', warned Cukic, should no longer go on experimenting on us."

Student Arnela Adrovic read the telegram sent to the SFRY Presidency and to the LCY Central Committee Presidium on behalf of 20,000 young people in the Ivangrad municipality. The meeting of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, which was organized by the Ivangrad SAWP Municipal Conference, passed peacefully and in a dignified manner.

15,000 Protest in Prizren

LD2509201688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Prizren, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The scheduled meeting of citizens of the first local community, which was to have been held in a theater, today grew into a protest meeting attended by over 15,000 inhabitants of Prizren, the surrounding region, and neighboring municipalities.

Several speakers warned of the difficult position of the Serbian, Montenegrin and other non-Albanian citizens in this municipality and of the strengthened, organized activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists; the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Turks; because of which several areas of Prizren have already become ethnically pure. [passage omitted]

It was also stated that in the municipality of Prizren, when the census was carried out, a process of politically legalized Albanization was also carried out of the region's Muslim inhabitants, Veli Deva, who at the time was president of the Kosovo Lc Provincial Committee, was mentioned as the official supporting this action.

Jusuf Gorani, president of the Prizren SAWP Conference, also spoke at the meeting, noting the slowness in the implementation of Party conclusions and other documents on Kosovo. [passage omitted]

A telegram was sent from the meeting to the top state and party organs of the Federation, Serbia, and Kosovo, demanding that a peaceful and free life be ensured for the children and all citizens of Kosovo.

1,000 Pupils Protest in Lilpjan

LD2609194188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Summary] Lipljan, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Over 1,000 pupils attending classes conducted in Serbo-Croat at the secondary school educational center and Braca Arsic primary school, together with teachers and parents from Lipljan and surrounding villages, protested here today, demanding security in the schools and on the streets. The gathering was also attended by some 100 primary school pupils from Lepina. The gathering was addressed by the director of the Braca Arsic primary school Dragan Mikeric, who asked all the pupils to come to school tomorrow. The pupils protested by shouting "We won't go to school," "We don't dare go to school." The director then asked the pupils to disperse peacefully and to attend meetings at the school tomorrow to agree on what to do next. The pupils stressed that this protest was because of the increased number of attacks, stonings and rapes of Serbs and Montenegrins by Albanian nationalists and separatists. After singing the Yugoslav national anthem the pupils went to their homes peacefully.

'Wave' of Rallies 'Factor' in Political Life

LD2509151388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1230 GMT 25 Sep 88

[By Gordan Ranitovic]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—A wave of rallies of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from Yugoslavia's autonomous province of Kosovo has been shaking the country for the past two months. These rallies have also cast the limelight on the organizers of these fierce protests against Albanian separatists and chauvinists who have been harassing the province's non-Albanian population for the past seven years.

A target of both praise and criticism, they have undisputedly become an influential factor in Yugoslavia's political life.

The committee in charge of organizing protest meetings outside the province was founded on June 24 to lead Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to the first such meeting in Belgrade.

Although the committee had to abandon preparations for the rally, it did however gain indirect recognition. Yugoslavia's party leadership urged the leaderships of Serbia and Kosovo to prevent the arrival of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Belgrade, and this could only be achieved with the help of the unofficial leaders from the province. President of the League of Communists of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic appealed to them not to come to Belgrade and they complied.

However, when the expectations of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins were not met, their leaders decided to organize a series of protest meetings throughout the country demanding that "incapable and irresolute" officials be ousted. Their fury first focused on the leadership of the autonomous province of Vojvodina (which, together with Kosovo, is part of the Republic of Serbia), whom they accused of looking only to their own positions and neglecting the struggle against Albanian separatists.

Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, after the rallies in Vojvodina "which showed that the people in the province are against their leadership," turned their attention to the Republic of Montenegro and some officials there whose performance they considered unsatisfactory. They also announced plans to stage protest meetings in other Yugoslav republics to gain support from the people, since the leaderships there "had turned a deaf ear to the troubles in Kosovo."

Although some leaderships claim that the committee is an illegal body, they have to communicate with it since its leaders are using their constitutional right to organize protests.

The five-man committee, headed by retired police Colonel Mico Sparavalo, does not lack political authority. They are all members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and almost all of them have university degrees (one even holds a doctorate in economics). The committee's most influential and probably most radical member is Miroslav Solevic, a sales executive from Pristina, who is an excellent orator and organizer. Activists throughout the province help implement the committee's main slogan—Collective struggle, "since as individuals we are helpless."

Many of those who criticize Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic claim that the committee is doing his bidding (the Serbian leadership last spring opposed a demand from the Kosovo party leadership to expel Solevic and two other activists from the League of Communists). Milosevic ignores such accusations, but supports the meetings.

The unofficial leaders, on the other hand, say that "they have no need to hold consultations with Milosevic" because they know exactly what to do. They even told Milosevic that he would also be attacked if he failed to support their "justified struggle." They do not, however, make a secret of their esteem for the Serbian party leader. Solevic even said that after so much suffering Milosevic was "the only hope" of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

Slogan 'We Want the Russians' Denied

AU2709093188 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 88 p 6

[M. Djukanovic report: "Kosta Bulatovic's Speech Totally Unacceptable"]

[Text] Niksic, 21 Sep—The speech which Kosta Bulatovic made at the solidarity meeting with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Niksic on 18 September is totally unacceptable. This was stated today at a joint session of the Niksic LC City Committee Presidium and the SAWP Communal Conference Presidium which discussed this large rally in Niksic in great detail. Both presidiums concluded that Bulatovic had abused the hospitality of the Niksic citizens because, by speaking from the positions of great Serbian nationalism, he tried, inspired by some "deep, underground intentions," to negate the Montenegrin nation. As was pointed out, in his speech he "did not mention Montenegro even once." He tried, as was noticed, to accuse the Montenegro leadership of allegedly passive attitudes toward the suffering of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo and in this way of separating it from the people. It was also stated that a number of slogans, banners, and messages shouted at the meeting were ideologically unacceptable. The chanting "We want the Russians" [Hocemo Ruse], which was allegedly heard at the meeting, was said to be the doing of an ill-intended reporter of Titograd television whose report was also carried by Pristina television and Titograd POBJEDA. It was not the above mentioned chanting that was heard, but the chanting "We want gusle" [Hocemo gusle—a folk music instrument; the pronunciation of the word gusle is similar to that of the word Ruse]. It was then concluded that this kind of trick was not accidental when it is known that some old Montenegrin nationalists hold responsible positions in Titograd television. It was also noted that a large number of newspapers correctly reported on the meeting, but it was remarked that POLITIKA inflated the number of banners and slogans six times in view of the fact that there were only 150 different banners and slogans at the meeting. This fact has, however, not been substantiated.

Some Zagreb and Ljubljana newspapers, it was stated, reported that there were three times fewer participants in the meeting, although one can almost claim with certainty that there were no fewer than 60,000 people.

It was also stated that the speeches by the representatives of Niksic could not be criticized in any way and that the crowd expressed the the greatest support to the parts of speeches calling for urgent changes in society, but not changes in the system's institutions.

Commentary on 'Call for Foreign Intervention'

AU2309181888 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 88 p 1

[Radovan Stipetic commentary: "Darkness"]

[Text] Has the first act of the "internationalization" of the Yugoslav drama just begun? The cry "We want the Russians" which was heard at the meeting held in Niksic on Sunday—along with cries of "We shall kill Vllasi!" and "To arms!" which have a more internal political nature— seem to be indicating just that. However, all three cries as well as some others should really have been a matter for the internal affairs offices had they been doing their job in Niksic and elsewhere.

In the inflammable atmosphere of the gatherings that have been raging through Yugoslavia in recent months, it is in fact not important whether the call for a foreign ("Russian") intervention has come from the mouth of an agent provocateur or whether it was planned—and if so, who planned it. What is important is that in the above mentioned atmosphere, the most sinister calls are permitted and they are heard more and more often, so at future meetings one will most probably hear them even more often or—depending on the region where a meeting is organized—one may hear the same call addressed to the other superpower. Madness knows no limits, which seems not to be known to those people who deceive themselves and to others who claim that they are capable of keeping it "under control."

The call for Russian intervention has been heard in Niksic, that is, in Montenegro, which has—allegedly or really—been traditionally linked with the Russians and everything Russian, and hence the jocose saying "We and the Russians number 200 million" (nowadays it is probably as many as 300 million). Naturally, this traditional link has lost the sentimental charge that it could have had in the times of Prince Nikola and before him, but it is interesting that it is now gaining in topicality. There is no doubt that remnants of those "healthy forces" that used to invoke the Russians—that is, Stalin and his tanks who came 40 years ago with the Cominform's blessings in the crusade against Titoist heresy—are participating in the present invocations with solidarity, physical or just spiritual.

Nevertheless, something important has happened in comparison with the situation 40 years ago: Stalin is no longer in the Kremlin and Gorbachev has been persistent in trying to remove the Stalinist way of thinking and acting from people's consciousness. Already this would be a sufficient reason to assume that the call from Niksic will not be met with a response in Moscow, not to speak of the present difficulties of the Soviet top political leadership which has more urgent business at home and is certainly not interested in new international adventures. However, one should not underestimate the Niksic call.

Slovene SAWP Writes Letter on Kosovo

LD2309175788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, on the basis of its last session devoted to the problems of Kosovo, has sent a special letter to the organizing committee of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, in which, among other things, concern is expressed at all the deviant phenomena which arise from Albanian nationalism. These deviations, the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference believes, contribute to the spreading of other nationalisms and create tension which threatens to have the most detrimental consequences.

The letter again stresses the need for even more effective help from Slovenia in carrying out economic and research projects in Kosovo. Slovenia will continue to support all the progressive forces of Kosovo in their struggle with the problems of Kosovo society, the Slovene Front's leadership says in its message to the committee of Serbs and Montenegrins. On the qeustion of the idea of a meeting in Ljubljana, as a sign of solidarity with Serbs in Kosovo, which the Presidium did not support, the Presidium of the Slovene Front [the Slovene SAWP] expresses its conviction that the provision of objective information to the Slovene public is not possible and even less so is the resolution of the problems in Kosovo, unless members of the Albanian nationality and representatives of legitimate institutions cooperate with the Serbs and Montenegrins on this matter.

Military Secrets Appeal Court Proceedings Open

LD2609181588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—In the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade today, proceedings began in connection with the appeals of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, and Franci Zavrl against the original verdicts of the Military Court in Ljubljana. At the end of July, the four were sentenced by Ljubljana court to terms of imprisonment ranging from 5 months to 4 years for the criminal act of disclosing a military secret. An appeal has also been lodged against the sentences by military prosecutor Zivko Mazic.

TANJUG has learned from reporters of the Ljubljana DELO, who attended the start of the proceedings, that today certain procedural matters were dealt with and the hearing will start on Friday, 30 September.

The hearing was postponed so that Ivan Borstner can choose a new defense lawyer since his defense lawyer as of 1 September has not been a member of the Armed Forces, and so cannot take part in proceedings concerning a military secret.

Borstner has been given until Friday to find a new representative who must also be a member of the Armed Forces. Since he is charged with a criminal act which can incur a sentence of up to 15 years imprisonment, Borstner is also the only one of the accused who is obliged to have a defending lawyer.

The five-member Council of the Supreme Military Court is presided over by Colonel Dr Tihomir Stanisic, while the reporting judge will be Colonel Dr Jovan Buturovic.

The official language of the hearing will be Serbo-Croatian. A proposal by Janez Jansa that the hearing should be held in Slovene was rejected, but a translator will be ensured for the whole course of the hearing.

The court council also rejected the accused's and David Tasic's military defending judge's proposal that the hearing should be open. Thus Friday's hearing, because of the nature of the document, will be conducted behind closed doors.

These "open-closed" proceedings were attended today mainly by reporters from the Slovene media. They found out the date of the start of the hearing from the Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, representatives of which were today also in the courtroom of the Supreme Military Court. Correspondents of foreign news agencies were also informed of the start of the hearing, it has been learned, while the editorial staffs of other Yugoslav papers and radio and television stations did not receive this information.

Croatia LC CC Session To Be Held 10 Oct

LD2609154588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Summary] Zagreb, 26 September (TANJUG)—The 19th session of the LC of Croatia Central Committee will be held on 10 October. Immediate tasks of the LC of Croatia in the implementation of the Stands of the First Conference of the LCY and the reform of the economic and political system will be discussed.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Membership Fee Reduced

LD2609211588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—According to a draft decision which, at a session in Sarajevo, was confirmed today by the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, the LC membership fee in this republic will, from 1 October this year, be reduced by an average of 35 percent.

Commentary Examines Relations With U.S.

AU2609175288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 88 p 3

[Leo Mates commentary: "Yugoslavia and the United States"]

[Text] Yugoslav-American relations are undoubtedly a unique example of good and relatively stable relations between two countries who could not be more different in every respect. These relations have lasted and have been on an upward trend since 1950 and have not been disturbed in the meantime by a string of disagreements, friction, and completely opposing attitudes which quite understandably arose in the unrest of the decades of the Cold War, detente, and other tense periods. One should also add to this the inheritance of very bad relations from the years 1946-1948 which followed the wartime alliance. This problem was discussed last week in Belgrade at the fourth Yugoslav-American conference of historians. This time, the period 1944-1956 was especially included on the agenda. This matter was also discussed at a roundtable discussion of diplomats and journalists from the two countries where general and basic problems of mutual relations were considered.

A Difficult Period for the World [subhead]

On the wider international scene, world relations in that period were full of the serious conflicts of the cold war, the subsequent brief melting of detente, and the new surprises of the later tensions between East and West. A large number of these conflicts between the strongest powers were played out in the region of the less developed and nonaligned countries of the South. However, the mutual relations of the nonaligned and less developed countries which were plagued by inherited disputes and conflicts of interest, were not peaceful. Then one should mention the difficult trials through which the countries of the South have passed and are passing in their economic relations with the industrially developed countries. Difficulties on the road to economic development did not arise only in the economic field. They also provoked instability in internal and mutual political relations.

Therefore, it is not at all strange that there have been problems in Yugoslav-American relations since the war. However, it is definitely more necessary to stress that they have been overcome in a constant dialogue between

diplomats and statesmen. Looking back, the most interesting period was nonetheless the first few years after the war with its exciting examples of cooperation and conflict, until relations lightened in 1950. We must consider this period in another context which also caused unease in the world and especially in Europe. This was the attempt of the Soviet Union to impose and consolidate its hegemony over a series of countries. This policy was begun in Eastern Europe by Stalin, but was continued by his successors until Gorbachev.

The first period of strained Yugoslav-American relations after the war reflected this policy and its conflict with American aspirations throughout the world. This rivalry between two of the most powerful post-war powers also affected Yugoslavia's relations with them. Immediately after the war, the United States considered Yugoslavia a country which followed the road of spreading the Soviet Union's influence in Europe. American representatives and American state services were not in a position to correctly understand the internal trends in Yugoslavia at that time, which unavoidably led to a conflict that broke out in 1948. The recent discovery of new data, which was presented for the first time by American historians at this conference, shows how much ignorance, disagreement and erroneous assessment there was. It even shows that the incidents which led to the shooting down of two American airplanes in Slovenia in 1946 were the result of disagreements on both sides and not a planned way of making relations more tense.

The United States Thwarted Churchill [subhead]

It has been shown that in this period the United States even rejected Churchill's demand to strengthen Western positions during the meeting of our Army and the British Army at the Soca, in order to put pressure on Yugoslavia. At the same time, one should bear in mind that the treatment of Yugoslavia as an exponent of the Soviet Union on the border with Italy and on the Mediterranean soon led to a turnaround in America's conduct and to a tension in relations and the unplanned incidents with the airplanes only poured oil gasoline on the fire. From this, the attempts by the United States developed to help the Christian Democrats in the first Italian elections which were to be held in April 1948. The result was the well-known tripartite declaration (USA, Great Britain, and France) in which the West proposed a change in the peace treaty so that Italy received Zone B of the Trieste region (including almost all of northwest Istria).

This declaration was announced on 20 March 1948 immediately after the Soviet demand that military and civilian experts be withdrawn (18 and 19 March). On 3 successive days, Yugoslavia received two serious blows from the West and the East and suddenly found itself with strained relations with all the great powers in the world at that time. But the same time, that is 1948, was more or less the time of the start of the cold war and the arrival at the pinnacle of the power of the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR. Yugoslavia found itself alone between two huge power centers. It rose to the challenge of this difficult occasion and preserved its independence.

This policy bore fruit because after 2 years of hesitation and testing whether Yugoslav independence was sufficiently firm and whether it was in the position to hold out, the United States agreed to give aid at one exceptionally difficult moment. That was the end of 1950 which was incomparably unfavorable for agriculture. Drought destroyed most of the wheat and corn which is a very rare natural occurrence. The situation was even worse because of the poor harvest resulting from a lack of fertilizers, tractors, and decimated cattle. At the end of 1950, after 2 years of independent efforts on two fronts, Yugoslavia received humanitarian aid from America and better prospects for more aid in the years to come.

The act of friendship showed two important characteristics of the situation which had not until then been counted on. The first was that the United States could act in a humane way even when political relations were poor. This was also shown during the famine in Soviet Russia in the twenties when America sent abundant food aid there which Lenin gratefully accepted. The second characteristic was that there was the possibility, along with all the ideological reasons, for cooperation if that was in the interests of strengthening our independence and preserving the achievements of our revolution. Lenin had also done this through cooperation with Western experts in defense of the revolution against the German Army before the signing of the peace treaty in Brest Litovsk. This was useful to the allies as it engaged the considerable German forces but for the Soviet Union this was a question of survival.

On a more lasting basis, similar to the one described, and after receiving the first humanitarian aid, Yugoslav-American relations developed even further after 1951. Aid to Yugoslavia was strategically useful for the United States as it wrested control from the other side of the strategically significant position of southern Europe and the Mediterranean. For us that was a way of materially consolidating our independent position. Stalin attacked both our actions, the acceptance of food and military aid. However, the later course of events showed that our assessments were correct. Yugoslavia has never become the instrument of any bloc, but on the contrary, it was the instigator of the Nonaligned Movement without spoiling our relations with the United States. Indeed, some of our nonaligned actions have been criticized by Washington, just as we have criticized certain American actions, particularly the wars in Korea and Vietnam. This only confirmed what was said at the beginning about the possibilities of friendly relations despite the existence of many differences and disagreements over policy.

The Wider Meaning of Our Relations [subhead]

The birth, further course, and final development of our relations with America have thus gone far beyond the framework of direct bilateral relations. They long ago acquired particular significance in Soviet relations. Now, at a time when the truth is beginning to penetrate in a much wider area about the fact that ideological differences do not have to be the reason for unfriendly relations between great powers and even between the greatest powers, this example has much more inspirational significance. Today, both the United States and the Soviet Union admit that it was this kind of strange cooperation between two different partners that has laid the groundwork for much more important moves toward smoothing conflicts and toward developing stable cooperation between two world powers.

Finally, one should also point out that the development of Yugoslav-American relations in recent decades greatly influenced the change in the previously very narrowly understood international relations in the world divided along ideological blocs. We have learned that in the nuclear era the only way to survive is to accept ideological pluralism in the world community. This has also been learned, to some extent, by those circles in the United States which tended to excessively ideologize foreign policy. This has finally become the truth for the new leadership in the USSR with Gorbachev at the helm, and this, at one time unique and sometimes quite lonely "experiment" has assumed the characteristics of a model for resolving the most difficult problems in international relations.

The intensity and width of Yugoslav-American relations as well as the demonstrated ability to tolerate each other in the cases of disagreements or disputes ensures stability and further improvements. This, however, does not exclude or hinder the new boom in Yugoslavia's relations with other countries, its intensified involvement in the Nonaligned Movement, or intensified relations with the Soviet Union.